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THE TRAGEDY OF AMANULLAH



THE TRAGEDY OF AMANULLAH

BY

SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

LONDON:
ALEXANDER-OUSELEY LIMITED
WINDSOR HOUSE VICTORIA ST. WESTMINSTER

First published in 1933

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
THE GARDEN CITY PRESS LTD., LETCHWORTH, HERTS.

DEDICATION

In view of the intense and selfless devotion to the cause of our Fatherland, which characterises all endeavours of His Royal Highness, the Sadr Azam Sahib, a humble Afghan author can have no greater honour than to dedicate this book to the beloved Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

Other works by the same Author:

Afghanistan of the Afghans
Eastward to Persia
Arabia
Mohamed: The Prophet
The Golden East, etc., etc.

PREFACE

THE fair-minded reader who peruses this book will discern, by means of the internal evidence of its every page, that the writer has no animus against Amanullah, the ex-King of Afghanistan, as an individual. If condemnation it contains, that is directed not at the personality of Amanullah Khan, but rather at the ruler into whose governance the fair inheritance of Afghanistan fell; and who, through his lack of consideration for the national sentiment and tradition, not only inflicted lasting damage upon his country but forfeited his crown.

It has been my careful intention to reveal how successfully he commenced his career as the champion of Afghan independence and the national hero. But it quickly became apparent to those who understood the Afghan psychology that he had little capacity for the guidance of a people of markedly independent character, and that in temperament he was both weakly and obstinate. Amanullah, indeed, was so enamoured of his own opinion that it was impossible to bring him to comprehend its deficiencies. Yet, if he ignored the sage advice of his counsellors, he was not only willing but eager to listen to that of favourites and the hangers-on at his court.

Contrary to the accepted notion, it was not alone the so-called " modernisation of Afghanistan " which brought about the fall of Amanullah. Rather was it the dry-rot characterising his administration which ended his career. Bribery and corruption had crept into every department of the Government, and it had become

proverbial throughout the country that Amanullah's promise was not to be relied upon.

The policy of that ruler in introducing European dress and custom was no new one. For at least a generation before he came to the throne, Afghans in large numbers had been wearing European clothes, much as did the Turks and Persians. Yet this brought no revolution in its train. European costume is still being worn. The causes of revolt were not so much against a novelty of custom as a wretched administration. The Court of the King was favourite-ridden, and it is notorious that those very favourites whose advice he followed, were in the event identified as his real enemies, who all the time had been in league with the brigand bands that infested the country against his rule.

At the same time, the inversion of a national code of custom by startling innovations, which were both untimely and unnecessary, did much to arouse the great mass of the people against Amanullah. In Afghanistan, as elsewhere, a ruler must conform to the national and traditional standards of the people as the present monarch is doing. No ruler who attempted to destroy the age-long culture and traditions of the Afghans could long hold his throne. Nor is there any good reason why he should attempt to crush them out of existence, or supersede them by European models.

For Afghanistan, like the other lands of the East, has a distinctive culture and philosophy of its own; nor, when it witnesses the comparative failure of the somewhat superficial civilisation of the West, should it desire to exchange its own well-tried system therefor. Indeed, the best minds of the West have condemned their own present culture in terms quite unmistakable.

The present King of Afghanistan in his personality and conduct provides a notable example of how a constitutional monarch should comport himself. Not only has true progress been maintained since the beginning of his

reign, a progress in its character very different from the superficial Occidentalism of Amanullah; but justice, religion and education have all been strengthened in their foundations and exalted as regards their standards. The present ruler serves his people, nor does he expect, as did Amanullah, that his people should serve him or bend to his wishes in every respect. He is single-minded and straightforward, a soldier who wishes to develop the culture of his country on lines specifically Afghan, and to remain in peace with the world. Nor does he cultivate likes or dislikes for movements or persons, but makes choice according to whether he believes a man or a measure to be good for his people. Thus he is neither anti-British nor anti-Russian, he is neither anti nor pro any man or movement. He is merely pro-Afghan, desiring for his people the same unqualified independence and respect which he so heartily accords to other nations.

This unpreferential friendship of His Majesty Mohamed Nadir Shah is a notable feature of his foreign policy, so it has quite definitely slain those sordid traditions of rivalry of expansionist powers in Old Asia, when, time and again, Afghanistan was drawn in other people's quarrels, because mischief-mongers to serve their own ends used to allege that the foreign policy at Kabul leaned this or that way, as if the independent people like the Afghans had no minds of their own!

In fairness, however, to the neighbours of Afghanistan, it must be added that since the day when Sir E. B. Howell took over the control of the Foreign Department in Simla, considerable sanity has returned to that office; which is not wholly unexpected from the activities of so profound a scholar of great personal charm: the same cordiality obtains from the officers from across the Oxus; in both cases, I am assured this spirit of reciprocation is due to the single-minded, frank and courteous dealing of the present Afghan monarch towards his neighbours.

And what of the future of Afghanistan ?

I feel that Afghanistan has entered upon an era of peace and prosperity; and that the Durrani House has come to stay. Let me give my reasons for these statements. In the first instance, we have no national debt, no industrial depression, no falling off of exchange, no unemployment; our yield is sufficient for the requirements of the people, we are not in the mad race of arming ourselves like some other nations and thus more tax in consequence is not put on. Can any other nation to-day show a better example of self-sufficiency and give prospect of future peace ?

Now, no one can deny that these adjustments were possible without the efforts of Ala Hazrat Mohamed Nadir Shah Ghazi. Being aware of this fact, the present-day Afghans very rightly look upon their monarch as the one man who is to be kept at the throne, and that his family be retained as royalty; which indeed, it always was from the time of Ahmed Shah Durrani. If I am a devotee to Ala Huzrat, and all that he stands for, I am more than a hero-worshipper by being a patriot, because no one within living memory can forget the sacrifices which he and his family made during and after the ill-fated Revolution in which the ex-King left his country. Under him the Afghan nation may rest assured of a peace hitherto unknown to our highland nation, and the neighbours, too, may be quite confident that his friendship is sincere and deep. In him one can see a man of the sword, who used the weapon to establish and to maintain peace; and having acquired it, he has beaten it to a ploughshare for the benefit of mankind. Perhaps ex-King Amanullah Khan's mistakes were providential, so that a greater man may show the world as to how great tasks are performed.

AL FAQIR
SYED IQBAL.

London, *August 20th*, 1932.
Rozay Istaqlal Millee.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
I.	THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN	3
II.	THE HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN	13
III.	THE AFGHAN RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND	33
IV.	THE MIND OF THE AFGHANS	47
V.	BUILDING OF THE AFGHAN STATE	55
VI.	AMEER HABIBULLAH AND AFTER	81
VII.	THE THIRD AFGHAN WAR	101
VIII.	PROGRESS OF THE ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR	125
IX.	PROGRESS AND POLICY AT KABUL	143
X.	AMANULLAH GOES THE PACE	161
XI.	FIRST PHASE OF AMANULLAH'S DECLINE	191
XII.	BEGINNING OF THE END	215
XIII.	THE LAST EFFORTS	231
XIV.	THE REMOVAL OF THE AFGHAN CURSE	243
	APPENDICES	259

ILLUSTRATIONS

AMANULLAH - - - - - - - *frontispiece*

EX-KING AMANULLAH WITH HIS OFFICERS IN KABUL, ON THE OCCASION OF THE DAY OF AFGHAN INDEPENDENCE - - - *facing p.* 16

AN UNCONVENTIONAL GARDEN PARTY AT KABUL. THE EX-KING IN THE CENTRE OF THE GROUP - - - - - - - „ 48

A DRIVE FOR A PARTRIDGE SHOOT IN JALALABAD PLAINS ON THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF AFGHANISTAN - - - „ 64

BACHA SAQUO, THE ROBBER, ADDRESSING HIS FOLLOWERS AT KABUL - - - „ 96

EX-KING AMANULLAH ADDRESSING HIS PEOPLE FROM THE PULPIT IN THE YEARLY PRAYER AT KABUL IODGAH MOSQUE - „ 104

ALA HUZRAT H.M. NADIR SHAH GHAZI, THE PRESENT MONARCH OF THE INDEPENDENT KINGDOM OF AFGHANISTAN - - - „ 112

EX-KING AMANULLAH'S ENGLISH VISIT—THE RECEPTION AT DOVER - - - - „ 120

THE AFGHAN TOWER OF VICTORY AT KABUL „ 128

PUBLIC GARDENS UNDER SNOW AT KABUL - „ 136

WALA HUZRAT HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS SIRDAR SHAH WALI KHAN, THE VICTOR OF KABUL, WITH THE LEADERS OF THE AFGHAN CLANS „ 164

EX-KING AMANULLAH WITH HIS CONSORT AT OXFORD ON THE OCCASION OF RECEIVING THE HONORARY DEGREE AT THE UNIVERSITY - - - - - - „ 192

THE PRESENT AFGHAN RULER, H.M. MOHAMED NADIR SHAH GHAZI, WITH HIS BROTHER ON THE DAY OF HIS ARRIVAL AT KABUL AFTER SUPPRESSING THE REVOLUTION - *facing p.* 204

ONE OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE AFGHAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AT DARUL AMAN - „ 224

ARG, THE CITADEL AT KABUL, THE CAPITAL OF AFGHANISTAN - - - - - - „ 238

A WING OF ARG, THE KABUL CITADEL, SHOWING THE RESULT OF THE BOMBARDMENT DURING THE AFGHAN REVOLUTION „ 252

THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN

THE TRAGEDY OF AMANULLAH

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN

THE story of the remarkable personality which it is the purpose of this book to record, is interlaced with the affairs of many peoples and the drama is enacted on various stages, which makes it imperative for the usefulness of the book that a fair amount of geographical, historical and cultural background of Afghanistan be provided. For, indeed, without some such knowledge the central actor of this recent tragedy of Afghanistan is a colourless figure.

Ex-King Amanullah Khan's association with the outer world, his magnificent reception in Europe, his spectacular rise to world fame, and then his fall, are not detached phases from the life and matters of Afghanistan proper.

The fact of giving such historic and other details of his country, therefore, admits of the above-mentioned apology in a work which is essentially a character study of the man.

Geographically speaking, I would draw a close comparison between Afghanistan and Scotland. In both lands we find the centre of the country occupied by an agglomeration of mountain ranges shading away into hilly undulations which run down to broad, well-watered plains and wastes like Registan and Dasht-i-Margo. The climate, if rather warmer and more arid, is much the same, and the ancient mode of life in both countries—a clan system, governed by predatory chiefs

—has eventuated in similar modern conditions and habits of thought.

Running right along the northern border of Afghanistan for a distance of 330 miles is a river which greatly affects the life of the entire country. This is the Oxus, or, to give it its modern name, the Amu Daria. It has its rise in the Pamir region, and falls into the Sea of Aral after running a course of more than 1,400 miles. It first impinges upon Afghan territory in the region of Wakhan, where travelling in its neighbourhood is one of the most arduous description and is, indeed, dictated by the character of the season in which it is attempted. During the melting of the snows, which begins in May, the river is in flood, and this condition remains until the end of August, so that the best time of the year to explore its banks is from September to March.

Farther to the west, as we advance to the Afghan districts of the Rustak and Kataghan, the mountainous character of the country on either bank becomes less marked, many rivers from the Trans-Alai range join the broad stream of the Oxus, which adopts a more sinuous course, and fans out into tributaries. These waters are now entirely diverted to the fields by a process of semi-artificial irrigation or canalisation, by which over four thousand square miles of rich alluvial land are kept in tillage.

The lower reaches of this great river are muddy in the extreme, and, indeed, it has been calculated that nearly sixteen million tons of sedimentary matter constantly pass down to form its vast delta. The tendency of the Oxus is to press continually on its right or east bank, a deflection which is said to be due to the rotation of the earth round its axis from west to east, and the consequence is that the stream has turned from the Kungrad channel eastwards to the Taldik channel and thence to the Yani Su, which at present receives its main discharge.

In fact, during the historical period it has twice oscillated between the Caspian and the Aral Seas. Its navigation has been the subject of much surmise since 1875, when a steamer succeeded in steaming up as far as Nukus. The Russian Government equipped a small flotilla, which still patrols it under Bolshevist auspices. The journey between Patta Hissar and Charjui takes from seven to ten days according to the size of the vessel.

One of the most striking and important districts in the north of the country is the Murghab Valley, close to the frontier. It is a mixture of desert and cultivated land, with here and there a village, and is fertile about the river banks, but extremely unhealthy, and the valleys are full of fever, which is unfortunately spread by the wide system of riparian irrigation.

The province of Herat is important because it touches the eastern borders of Persia, and was anciently one of the gateways by which the marvellous civilisation and art of that favoured land entered the Afghan region. Its capacity for production is somewhat restricted, and, although it has been called " Key of India," it is doubtful if it could maintain an army of 150,000 men, as some authorities have stated. But its strategic importance is scarcely to be underrated, for within its borders roads converge from the Caspian, Merv, Bokhara and India, through Kandahar. The Hari Rud river is its Nile, converting portions of what would have been an arid waste into a fruitful paradise. In the hot season it breaks up into long lakes fed by springs and subterranean watercourses. From its mud is built entirely the city of Herat, which lies in a hollow, and is surrounded by massive walls, and is capped by a vast and grim-looking citadel. The Herati is a peace-loving peasant, very different in temperament from the proud and warlike Afghan, and his city is picturesque.

Between Kandahar and Herat one passes through a

rich country. Kandahar is, of course, a point of great strategical importance, and is situated between the Argand and Tarnak rivers on a level and richly cultivated plain, and is strongly walled and defended by double bastions. The principal streets are wide and well built and flanked by trees, and the city is divided into districts which are occupied by the four principal clans, the population in all amounting to about 50,000. In recent years the place has prospered, as it has had little to disturb the even flow of its career. The wealthiest merchants are Hindus, who carry on a profitable trade with Bombay, via Shikarpur and Karachi, and import silks and other soft goods, leather and metal goods, and export goat's hair, camel's wool, preserved fruits, tobacco, horses and drugs to India and the Persian Gulf. Kandahar is, indeed, the most important trade centre in Afghanistan, and its customs and dues alone equal the revenue of the entire province. The climate is delightful in spring and winter, but in summer is almost unbearably warm, owing to the heat which radiates from the sand-hills close to the city.

Westwards of the Kandahar region is that of Seistan, rich in political interest. Topographically it belongs to the watershed of Afghanistan, and its widespread area, situated on the borders of Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan, is drained by the Hamun lake, which is sometimes quite dry, at others an inland sea nearly a hundred miles long. Seistan has been divided into Seistan Proper and Outer Seistan, the former of which may be called Persian Seistan and the latter Afghan Seistan. Outer Seistan comprises the country along the right bank of the River Helmund from its mouth on the north to Rudbar in the south. The Helmund was made the frontier between Persia and Afghanistan in 1872, but since then it has changed its course, so that inextricable confusion has arisen. The Afghans, indeed,

gained by the alteration in the river bed, and claimed that it formed the frontier.

The entire existence of Seistan depends upon irrigation, and, indeed, the canals which branch off from the Helmund throughout a great part of the area antedate the Persian occupation. Provisions are cheap, wheat and barley are easily to be procured, and sheep and oxen are abundant.

The province of Kabul is very mountainous, but contains a large proportion of arable land, especially near the bases of the hills. Wheat and barley are the chief products, and constitute the staple food even of the poorest classes. But such grain as is grown does not suffice for the wants of the community, and cereals and rice have to be imported from Jelallabad and Upper Bangash. The Butkhak district is perhaps the most highly developed, agriculturally speaking, and a great deal of fruit is grown. During the summer a large proportion of the population dwell in tents. Cattle, camels, mules and horses are largely bred and traded to Turkestan, India and Khorassan.

The province of Badakhshan, in the extreme east of Afghanistan, is made up of lofty mountain ranges and deep rugged valleys, where there is little agriculture. The people are for the most part Tajiks. In winter the cold is severe, the mountain passes being blocked by snow and the rivers frozen over. There are, however, temperate zones in some of the more sheltered valleys, and the presence of considerable forests ensures a plentiful rainfall. The eastern portion of the country is, indeed, a sharp contrast to the western and more arid sphere. Badakhshan is rich in mineral resources: salt, sulphur, iron, lapis-lazuli and the ruby being found; but these deposits are not worked regularly, nor in a modern way.

In the region of Wakhan, an alpine district of Badakh-

shan, hemmed in by lofty mountains, the people are mostly occupied in the patriarchal employment of the shepherd and in keeping flocks of yaks. The lowest hamlet in this district is 8,000 feet above sea level, and the highest about 11,000 feet, yet it is found possible to grow scanty crops of barley, and there is plenty of grass of a kind for the flocks.

The province of Afghan Turkestan is, perhaps, one of the most important in the country, and is, indeed, equal to Herat or Kandahar. It has a number of flourishing industrial centres, among them Tashkurgan and Mazar-i-Sharief, a place to which the Russians have always attached much importance. From Tashkurgan caravans go to India and Bokhara. It is surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference and has about twenty thousand houses, each of which is surrounded by a mud wall of its own. The whole town is thickly planted with fruit trees, and through the middle of the streets run irrigating channels. There is a crowded bazaar, in which cattle, sheep, mules, goats and horses are sold, cotton goods and silk stuffs from India and fruits and nuts from the countryside. The Hindus act as moneylenders and bankers, and extract exorbitant interest.

Balkh, a city of ancient fame, lies some fifty miles westward. The place, which once covered a circuit of nearly twenty miles, is now in a state of almost complete ruin. The whole of the northern half of the old city is one immense waste; the walls have been worn down into the most fantastic shapes by wind and weather, and the citadel is nothing but a mound. Balkh has, indeed, met the fate of Babylon and Baalbek. Beyond this venerable place the territories of a number of minor khanates begin, which have at times been Afghan, at others Bokharan. The population is a mixture of divers races —Tajiks, Uzbeks, Persians and Turkomans—who are only united in their faith, which is, however, divided in

this district between the Sunni and Shiah sects. The Andkhui district is rendered fruitful by the Oxus, which is the source of extensive irrigation, but which is here undrinkable. Fruit, corn, rice and live-stock are raised in great abundance, and black lamb-skins are exported to Persia in large quantities, camels to the Trans-Oxanian regions, and fruit and cereals to the other provinces.

So far I have made no mention of Kabul itself. It is situated at the western extremity of a spacious plain, in an angle formed by two converging heights. It is about three miles in circumference, and is now unwalled. It extends a mile and a half from east to west and a mile from north to south. Hemmed in by mountains, it can develop towards Shirpur only; and it has long been a pet scheme of more than one recent Ameer to lay down the foundations of a new capital elsewhere, which would be worthy of the dignity and growing importance of the state. Indeed, Abdur Rahman had planned such a city in the Chahardeh Valley to the west of Shere Darwaza, when the project was interrupted by his death. At present Kabul is a strange mixture of the new and the old. In places, with rambling lanes and narrow, ill-paved streets, there is still a kind of old-world magnificence about many of its ways and buildings. Handsome edifices are constantly being built, and frequently are abandoned almost as soon as completed. The modern palaces are fine, the Dil Khusha Palace, designed by a European architect, being especially so.

The bazaars of Kabul are in reality not so fine as those of some other Afghan towns. The principal are the Shor, the Erg and the Darwaza Lahori. The Nakush Bazaar, or cattle market, is situated north of the Kabul river, and the chief grain bazaars lie in the Tandue Sazi quarter, between the Shor Bazaar and the Darwaza Lahori. The great fruit market is in the Shikarpuri quarter, where the

fruits for which Kabul is famous are exposed for sale. Nearly every department of merchandise has its special locality, shoes, meat, vegetables, copper, tobacco, arms, furs and drugs, each being sedulously kept apart.

The extreme breadth of the country from north-east to south-west is about 700 miles; its length from the Herat frontier to the Khyber Pass approximately 600 miles; and the total land area is still somewhat indefinite, but for all practical purposes it is calculated to be between 245,000 and 270,000 square miles. Little or no attempt has ever been made at the census of the people, but known figures upon which much of the official work is understood declare the population to be about twelve millions. The largest Afghan towns have the following varying population: Kabul, 100,000; Kandahar, 60,000; Herat, 121,000; Mazar-i-Sharief, 46,000. The entire country is divided administratively into nine unequal parts. The five major provinces are those of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-i-Sharief and Kataghan-Badakhshan; while the four minor divisions are Jelallabad, Khost, Farah, and Maimena.

THE HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN

As to the origin of the Afghans there seems to be much divergence of opinion. European scholars believe that the inhabitants of Afghanistan prior to the Greek invasion were Hindus, and that on the decline of the Indo-Scythians, the Hindus were governing and inhabiting the country once again, till the Moslem wave reached beyond Persia and converted the people of Afghanistan to the faith of the Prophet of Mecca at the end of the seventh century. That, of course, is little better than a theory.

The legendary account given by the Afghans regarding their great sires, although unsupported by known history, is yet interesting. According to the Afghan traditions, the people trace their pre-historical connection with one Afghana. But in order to appreciate the position of Afghana I must begin with the life story of Ibin Yamin, Bin Yaqoob, commonly known as Qais. Now Qais and his only son, Sarral, lived as shepherds on the banks of the River Nile in Egypt. Sarral was a big, stalwart man, and people nicknamed him as Taweel, or Tall.

The story goes on to say that one day two sheep of Taweel's herd went astray, and while he was searching for them in the parched deserts of Egypt he suddenly came upon a man called Ismail, from the tribe of Lawee. Ismail was so impressed by Taweel that he forthwith requested him to become the King of Beni-Israil. The

man of the Lawee tribe was not without the skill of the supernatural, and when he poured some oil over the head of Taweel, the shepherd's hair curled up in the shape of a crown fit for kings, and thus Taweel became the monarch of the Beni-Israil.

Taweel married into the tribe of Lawee and had a daughter Iramiah, whom he married to Daud, and their son was Afghana. It is believed that Afghana greatly helped his father in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. When misadventure befell the children of Israil, Afghana trekked to the hills of Ghoor with his forty sons, and thence to Afghanistan. This narrative seems to approximate to the story that the Afghans are in some way or other connected with the Lost Tribes of Israel; but this is sharply contested. There is, at any rate, no authentic record either to substantiate or to refute the theory. On the other hand, certain Moslem historians have mentioned that the headman of the refugees was summoned from Kohistan by the Prophet Mohammed, but his name is given as Qais, and not Afghana. This Qais is said to have embraced Islam, and was named Abdur Rashid. Later, when Qais distinguished himself in battle, he was nicknamed as Pathan—a rudder—who, it was felt, was capable of steering the "boat of Islam in Asia through the troubled water of infidelity." I have endeavoured to record the above account merely to open a vast avenue for a fascinating study of the pre-history of the Afghans, which has been neglected far too long.

This Afghan claim to be Beni-Israil notwithstanding, Ahmed Shah Durani it was who announced the independence of his state, and the Afghans of Afghanistan have thence styled themselves Durani, according to Hamilton. They are settled principally in the Kandahar country, extending into Seistan and to the borders of the Herat valley. Eastward they spread across the

Afghan border into the Toba highlands north of the Khojak, where they are represented by Achakzai and Sadozai clans. They exist in the Kabul districts as Barakzai, and as Mahmundzai (Mohmands) and Yusufzai. They occupy the hills north of the Kabul river, Bajaor, Swat, Buner and part of the Peshawar plains.

After the Afghans the dominant people are the Pukhtun or Pathans, represented by a variety of tribes, many of whom are recognised as being of Indian origin. They inhabit the hilly regions along the immediate British frontier. The Afridi Jowaki and Orakzai clans hold the highlands immediately south of the Khyber and Peshawar, the Turis of the Kurram, the Dawaris of Tochi and the Waziris of Waziristan filling up the intervening Pathan hills north of the Gomul. In the Kohat district the Khattak and Bangash clans are Pathan, so that Pathans are found on both sides of the border.

The Ghilzai is reckoned as a Pathan, and he is also connected with the Afghan. Nevertheless his origin is distinct; he claims only ties of faith and affinity of language with other Afghan peoples. The Ghilzai rank collectively as second to none in military strength and in commercial enterprise; further, their chiefs take a leading part in the politics of the country, possessing much influence at Kabul. They are a fine, manly race of people, and it is from some of their most influential clans (Suliman Khel, Nasir Khel, Kharotis, etc.) that the main body of Provindah merchants is derived. These frontier commercial travellers trade between Ghazni and the plains of India, bringing down their heavily laden *khafilas* at the commencement of the cold weather and retiring again to the hills ere the summer heat sets in. During the winter months thousands of them circulate through the farthest districts of the peninsula.

Underlying the predominant Afghan and Ghilzai elements in Afghan ethnography there is the Tajik, who,

representing the original Persian possessors of the soil, still speaks his mother tongue. There are pure Persians in Afghanistan, such as the Kizil Bashis of Kabul and the Naoshirwans of Kharan. The Tajiks are the cultivators in the rural districts: the shopkeepers and clerks in the towns.

Next in importance to the Tajik is the Mongol Hazara, who speaks a dialect of Persian and belongs to the Shiah sect of Mohammedans. The Hazaras occupy the highlands of the upper Helmund valley, spreading through the country between Kabul and Herat, as well as into a strip of territory on the frontier slopes of the Hindu Kush. In the western provinces they are known as Hazaras, Jamshidis, Taimanis and Ferozkhois; in other districts they are distinguished by the name of the territory which they occupy. They are pure Mongols; intermixing with no other races, preserving their language and their Mongol characteristics, they are uninfluenced by their surroundings.

In Afghan Turkestan the Tajik is allied with the Uzbeg and Turcoman; the chief Turcoman tribes left to Afghan rule being the Alieli of the Daolatabad-Andkhui districts and the Ersaris of the Khwaja Salar section of the Oxus frontier. Originally raiders, they have now beaten their swords into ploughshares and concern themselves with agricultural pursuits.

Thus while there is an Afghan race almost identical in physical type, speech, religion and culture, there is none possessing a distinct sense of its unity, with common political sentiments and aspirations. The Duranis, the Ghilzais, the Waziris, the Afridis, the Mongols, Mohmands, Yusafzais and others form so many different communities within the State. Each possesses separate interests, although Ahmed Shah Durani endeavoured to give a national importance to his tribe, not only by changing its name from Abdali to Durani, but also by



EX-KING AMANULLAH WITH HIS OFFICERS

associating with it other sections—the Yusufzais, Mohmands, Afridis, Shinwaris, Orakzais and Turkolanis—under the common designation of Bar-Duranis. The attempt failed, and these sections still retain their tribal integrity, declining to be fused together; so that, while the peoples of Afghanistan had lost their clan federation, it cannot be said that they have not preserved their individuality.

Whatever the descent of the Afghans may be, the following, a list of the races inhabiting Afghanistan at the present day, represents an endeavour to establish the connections between them:

(1) The Durani tribes are:
1. Popalzai; 2. Alikuzai; 3. Barakzai; 4. Achakzai; 5. Murzai; 6. Ishakzai; 7. Khugiania.

(2) The Tarins are divided into:
(*a*) The Spin Tarins. (*b*) The Tor Tarins.
The spin embrace: 1. Shadizai; 2. Marpani; 3. Lasran; 4. Adwani.
The Tor include: 1. Batezai; 2. Haikalzai; 3. Malizai; 4. Kadazai; 5. Khanizai; 6. Khamzai; 7. Alizai; 8. Nurzai; 9. Kalazai; 10. Naczai; 11. Musizai; 12. Abdulrahmanzai; 13. Habilzai; 14. Hamranzai; 15. Karbela; 16. Sezai.

(3) The Kakars are composed of:
1. Jalazai; 2. Musa Khel; 3. Kadizai; 4. Usman Khel; 5. Abdulazai; 6. Kabizai; 7. Hamzazai; 8. Shabozai; 9. Khidarzai.

(4) The Ghilzais control:

Ibrahim	Zabr Khel	Shahmomalzai
	Ahmadzai	Kaisar Khel
	Umar Khel	Khwazak
	Adamzai	Stanizai
	Chalozai	Ali Khel
	Chinzai	Andar
Turan	Ohtaki	
	Tokai	
	Hotaki	

(5) The Povindahs comprise:
1. Lohani; 2. Nasir; 3. Hazai; 4. Kharoti.
(6) The Waziris are made up of:
1. Mahsud; 2. Utmanzai; 3. Ahmadzai.
(7) Shiranis.
(8) The Turis are broken up among:
1. Gundi Khel; 2. Alizai; 3. Mastu Khel; 4. Hamza Khel; 5. Dopazai.
(9) The Zaimukht are represented by:
1. Mamuzai; 2. Khwahdad Khel.
(10) Orakzais.
(11) Dawaris.
(12) Khostwais.
(13) The Afridis are split into:
1. Kaki Khel; 2. Malik Din; 3. Kambar; 4. Kamr; 5. Lakha Khel; 6. Aka Khel; 7. Sipahs.
(14) The Tajiks embody:
1. Kehwani; 2. Ada Khel; 3. Petla; 4. Ahman Khel; 5. Ali Khel; 6. Jamu Khel; 7. Husen Khel; 8. Keria Ahmud Khel.
(15) The Mongols are formed of:
1. Miral Khel; 2. Khajuri; 3. Zab; 4. Margai; 5. Kamal Khel.
(16) Jadrans.
(17) The Shinwaris are constituted by:
1. Khoja Khel; 2. Shekhmal Khel; 3. Mirdad Khel; 4. Ashkben Khel; 5. Syad Khel; 6. Sangu Khel.
(18) The Mohmands are indicated as:
1. Tarakzai; 2. Alamzai; 3. Baizai; 4. Khwaizai; 5. Utmanzai; 6. Dawezai.
(19) The Yusafzais (Kohistani) dissolve into:
1. Baizai; 2. Khwazozais; 3. Malizais; 4. Turkilanis; 5. Utmanzais; 6. Hasnzai; 7. Akazai; 8. Mada Khel; 9. Iliaszai; 10. Daolatzai; 11. Chagarzai; 12. Nurizai; 13. Utman Khels.

The antiquities of Afghanistan have been entirely neglected by historians and archæologists, chiefly because of the political upheavals which have disturbed that country, rendering it impossible to undertake the necessary local researches. Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan,

possesses some of the oldest and most interesting relics of Greek art and civilisation in Asia. Fully two thousand years before Julius Cæsar brought his legions to Albion, Kabul had already figured in history. Ptolemy and other ancient geographers applied the term "Ariana" to a country lying between the Suleiman mountains in the east and the great salt desert of Northern Persia in the west. It was bounded by Baluchistan in the south, by the Hindu Kush range with the Karabel plateau in the north. From these boundaries one may easily identify the country with modern Afghanistan with the addition of Khorasan, which now forms a province of Persia.

Ariani—ancient Afghanistan—was divided into three provinces: Drangiana, which occupied the whole of Northern Afghanistan; Arachosia, the north-eastern portion; and Paropamisus, the valley of the Kabul river. The city of Kabul was called Ortospanum, Jelallabad, Plegerium Nagara, Kandahar, Gandhara, and Farah, Phra. It is of interest to note that in the case of Gandhara, the only alteration in its form has been the change of "G" into "K," according to a well-known law of Semitic euphony. Indeed, some people to this day call a Kandahari—one belonging to Kandahar—a Gandahari. Again, the Grecian name of the town, Phra, has only been modified by replacing "ph" by "F." The early history of Afghanistan is indelibly bound up with the conquest of Alexander. To several other cities in Central Asia and Afghanistan the great Hellenic conqueror gave his name. Herat, for instance, was called after him. The ruins of Opiane in the Kabul River valley can still be identified; even to Khojend, on the Jaxartes, the most remote of Alexander's conquests in Central Asia, are still situated the ruins of Alexander's Cyropolis.

Alexander entered Afghanistan from the north-west. Occupying Herat, now on the Perso-Afghan frontier, he

directed his movements against the south-western regions of Afghanistan, capturing Farah, and marching up to Kandahar and to Ghazni. Having thus encircled Kabul, he reduced that town also. Most strategists are aware that whosoever is in possession of the Ghorband and Panjshair valleys, in the neighbourhood of the capital of Afghanistan, holds the keys of Central Asia in his hands. Alexander made these valleys his bases, whence he could proceed to the conquest of Bactria and India.

Another locality which enshrines the memory of Alexander is the Kalif ferry over the Oxus in the north of Afghanistan. This point is still regarded as of great strategical importance. The Afghan tendency towards hero worship has not failed to impart to the Kalif ford—Alexander's crossing point—a considerable degree of reverence. Indeed, the local guide insists upon one believing that certain footprints in a rock beside the river were those of Alexander, who stood thereon whilst watching his legions crossing the stream.

At the death of Alexander, the Greek Empire in the East soon broke up. His generals immediately divided it among themselves. Bactria was under Satrap Philip; Afghanistan under Strasanor and Sibertius; and India under Oxyartes, father-in-law of the dead leader. Discontent regarding the manner of apportioning the empire prevailed amongst these Greek generals, and after seven years' fighting, Seleucus emerged as ruler from "the Euphrates to the Oxus and Indus." But Seleucus did not realise the wisdom of Alexander regarding the natural strength of the Kabul valleys, and failed to retain them as military headquarters. The base was abandoned, and India was bartered to Chandra Gupta for five hundred elephants. His ambassador, Megasthenes, is known to have represented the Greeks at the Court of the Hindu emperor.

The history of those Greek kings who guided the destinies of early Afghanistan is a stormy one. In 280 B.C. Seleucus was murdered, and was succeeded by Antiochus Soter, who was succeeded by Antiochus Theos; this latter sovereign was undecided as to which of his two wives, Leodike and Berenike, he favoured more, and Leodike, to put an end to his doubts, poisoned him. Seleucus II succeeded him in 246 B.C., and the Bactrian Greeks, revolting during his reign, occupied Kabul, which henceforth became a Bactrian province.

Diodotus, who had headed the Bactrian revolt, was succeeded, as a King of Kabul, by his son Demetrius, merely to be replaced by Eucratides, who, in turn, was murdered by his own son, whose name remains unknown. From this point history is silent regarding the doings of the Seleucidas, although the names of two Greek kings are mentioned—those of Menander and Apollodotus. Records cease to be helpful here, and we must be assisted by the no less valuable evidence of monumental structures, coins, and other relics from all over the Middle East, but chiefly in the ruins of Begram, near Kabul.

The plain of Begram, thirty miles north of Kabul, which still awaits the spade of the explorer, is littered with ruins of the highest importance to the history of Alexander's supremacy in Afghanistan. Coins are found in this plain, as the upper soil is washed away by rains or turned by the wooden plough of husbandmen. As many as 30,000 coins are generally discovered each year. But Begram is not the only locality where archæological relics are to be encountered. There are many topes scattered over the Kabul valley even farther east than Jelallabad. The topes are immense solid domes raised on round towers, and decorated by green glazed paint. These are the pyramids of Afghanistan. No effort has been made to force an entry into these structures, and

one which has been struck by lightning revealed many interesting relics—vessels, coins, rings, signets and seals, some of which bore Greek inscriptions on one side. The coins found in Afghanistan have inscriptions both in Greek and the old Kabulee languages, just as the modern Indian rupee bears both English and Urdu characters. The Kabulee inscription was nearly always found to be a Sanskrit translation of the Greek version.

The cities of the valley of Kabul, like their ancient Greek prototype, possessed a mint, and each mint had its own monogram. No less than 150 monograms are given, and from these one can ascertain what part of the country a king had ruled over in Ariana; from the style we can also judge the approximate dates. When India became severed from Greece, and communications ceased from the mother country, an artistic deterioration set in. The coins of Diodotus, the first Bactrian king, are excellent specimens of true Grecian art. So are those of Antiochus. But the coins of Hermæus, the last of the Bactrian monarchs, are very rude; even the spelling of the Greek on them is incorrect, and the letters have degenerated to mere barbarous symbols. The coins of the first two kings are of gold, while their successors had contented themselves with silver and copper. This may strengthen the assumption that the Greek Conquest had stripped India of such gold as was easily procurable by ancient methods.

The portraits on some of the coins are magnificent, and the four-drachma pieces of Eucratides are very fine indeed. They have the portrait of the king on one side; the reverse contains two horsemen; on the margin are the name and the titles of the Greek king: "Eucratides, the king, the Saviour." Apollodotus has in addition to his title, a somewhat novel prefix—"The lover of his father." Many coins are square in shape. The Greek gods are not infrequently depicted on these ancient coins,

Hercules with his club, and Apollo with his bow being constantly met with. One coin has a fish on it; the owl, as the bird of wisdom, is also represented, while elephants and bullocks also figure.

It will, perhaps, be of some interest to give a list of the kings whose coins have been found either in Kabul or its environs, the Punjab of Bactria. They are as follows: Diodotus I; Diodotus II; Antimachus I; Euthydemus; Demetrius; Antimachus II; Pantaleon; Agathokles; Heliokles, and his queen Leodike; Apollodotus; Straton, and his queen Agathokleia; Lysias; Nikias; Archebias; Zoilus; Menander; Theophilus; Antialkidas; Philozenes; Diomedes; Dionysius; Epander; Amyntes; Hippostratus; Apollophanes; Antremidorus; Telephus; Hermæus and his queen Kalliope; and Straton II —twenty-nine kings and three queens, who were entirely unknown to history until the recent discoveries.

The Hellenic kings seem to have reigned for about 140 years only—from 260 to 120 B.C. During the reign of Hermæus, the country of Afghanistan was overrun by the Scythians, as is shown by the appearance on a Greek coin of the name of a Scythian king, Kajula Kadopes.

The rapid change in regard to succession of these Greek kings in that part of the East gave some of them just time enough to strike coins. Nadir Shah, when he invaded India, set his mint to work during his brief stay of fifty-seven days in India. Similarly, Sikandar Shah, who reigned for fifty-four days, circulated his coinage. The exercise of the privilege of coining is the monopoly of royalty in the East. Almost the very first thing which a king does on ascending the throne is to institute a coinage. But, apart from this consideration, we have evidence of several Greek kings reigning in Kabul and Bactria at one and the same time.

The coinage enables us to judge of local conditions in

Afghanistan. King was fighting against king, the father sometimes against his son.

The title of Apollodotus, " the lover of his father," has a sinister meaning, for he was guilty of his predecessor's assassination. Internecine wars have been never-ending.

The Greek kings of Kabul were idolaters, and their intimate association with the East did not alter their religion. A hundred years after they had ceased to rule Kabul, coins were struck on which not only were the Greek letters used, but the figures of their gods also appeared. Some of these on the Indo-Scythian coins are decidedly Indian in aspect, but their Sanskrit names are Hellenised and are written in Greek characters. Theophilus, for instance, seems a strange name for a Greek king of that period.

During the first Christian century the Yueh-Chi, a Central Asian horde, crushed out the last remnants of Greek rule, and also expelled the Parthians. Kanishka was one of the greatest of the Yueh-Chi rulers. When his empire fell to pieces, the Turki kings of his race reigned for several centuries afterward in the Kabul valley, and in the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim, Huien Tsiang, found them still professing Buddhism.

About the end of the ninth century the Turki Shahis gave place to Hindu rulers, who finally disappeared before the onslaught of the Ghaznivids. In 642 the Arabs had occupied Western Afghanistan, and Herat became one of the principal cities of the Moslem world. They failed to conquer Kabul.

On the break-up of the Khalifat, the Persian Saffavids, in the ninth century, ruled for a short time in Herat and Balkh. They were succeeded by the more powerful Samanids, and they in turn by the Turkish house of Ghaznee.

The greatest of the Ghaznivids was Mahmud, who reigned from 988 to 1030. He ruled over Afghanistan, Trans-Oxiana, Western Persia and the Punjab, and founded a university at Ghaznee.

After Mahmud's death his outlying possessions fell to the Seljuk Turks, that is, the west and north; but the Afghan house of Ghor finally dispossessed his descendants of their remaining Afghan and Indian dominions. The greatest of the Ghorids was Shahab-ud-din Mahomed (1173-1206), who conquered the whole of North India.

Afghanistan was next overrun by the Mongol hordes of Chengis Khan. His descendants ruled here till Timur Lang subdued the country and proceeded to the sack of Delhi in 1398. When Timur died in 1405, and his empire fell to pieces, his descendants continued to rule in Herat, Balkh, Ghaznee, Kabul, and Kandahar.

One of them, Babar, the King of Badakhshan, Kabul and Kandahar, descended upon India in 1525 at the head of a Turki-Afghan army, and at Panipat (1526) overthrew Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi (also of Afghan descent). Thus were laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire. Now the Afghan possessions become of secondary importance to the Mughals, for Badakhshan was occupied by Uzbeks; Herat and Kandahar fell to the Persian dynasty of the Safavids. All that was left in Mughal possession were Ghaznee and the province of Kabul. In 1708 the Ghilzais of Kandahar threw off the Persian yoke while the Abdalis (Durranis) took Herat and overran Khorasan. In 1738 Nadir Shah conquered Afghanistan.

In 1739 Nadir Shah invaded India and sacked Delhi. When he was returning home he was assassinated and the loot of vast treasures and wealth fell to the Afghans in his army. Amongst his soldiers was an Afghan general of cavalry, one Ahmad Shah, of the Saddozai section of the

Abdali clan—a Durrani. The treasure of Delhi falling into his hands, he laid the foundation of the Durrani Empire.

So in the year 1747, the date of the assassination of Nadir Shah, Afghanistan became for the first time a national monarchy. This Durrani Empire was never stable. It lasted only fifty years. Under Ahmad Shah a series of well-organised expeditions into India took place, resulting in the famous victory over the Maratha hosts at Panipat, 1761. The Durrani Empire included all of modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, parts of Persia, Sind, the Derajat, the Punjab to Lahore, Kashmir, and the Yusafzai country to the north of Peshawar. Badakhshan paid tribute to that ruler at Kabul.

Ahmad Shah died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Timur. Under the son the empire began to decline. Sind fell to the Talpur Ameers; and Balkh became virtually independent. In 1793, Timur was succeeded by his son Zaman, during whose reign the Punjab was overrun by Sikhs. From thence onward, until 1818, Afghanistan was the scene of hideous family conflicts between the many sons of Timur. Indeed, at one time great fears were entertained in India that Zaman would invade it, but he remained too much occupied in Persian troubles and family quarrels. In 1799, Mahmud, a son of Timur, seized the throne.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century (1803), as a result of a conspiracy, the throne passed to Shuja-ul-Mulk. At this time, or rather in 1809, Lord Minto was the Governor-General of India, and the fear of Napoleon caused him to despatch Elphinstone to conclude an alliance with the Ameer of Kabul. While the flower of Shuja's army was crushing a revolt in Kashmir shortly after the mission, he was deposed, and once more Mahmud reigned in his stead. Shuja became a refugee at Ludhiana in India. Mahmud was deposed in 1818,

which marks the end of the Sadozai dynasty in Afghanistan.

For years following the displacement of the Sadozais, there was considerable internecine fighting, but in 1826 Dost Mahomed Khan, of the Barakzai clan, made himself lord of Kabul and Ghazni. It was not, however, till 1835 that he assumed the title of the Ameer.

THE FIRST AND SECOND AFGHAN WARS

Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, now attempted to restore the Sadozai, i.e. Shah Shuja, because he thought that Shah Shuja, being more friendly would be a more desirable ruler of a neighbouring state, also it was presumed that Dost Mahomed Khan was inclined towards Russia. The whole thing was a sad mistake, the main facts of it being that Shah Shuja was installed for a time, but the Afghans hated a puppet Ameer who was kept on his throne by British bayonets. Shah Shuja was eventually murdered and Dost Mahomed became Ameer and reigned till 1863.

After the second Sikh war, 1849, India and Afghanistan became neighbours and now the frontier troubles begin, because up to 1893 no proper boundary line existed between the two countries. In 1850, however, Dost Mahomed reconquered Balkh, and in 1855 a friendly treaty was signed between India and Afghanistan. During the same year the Ameer captured Kandahar. It was lucky for the English that Dost Mahomed was friendly in the mutiny of 1857. In the year of his death he captured Herat, and was succeeded by Sher Ali Khan after much fratricidal conflict.

Proper Anglo-Afghan friendly dealings begin from 1869, when Sher Ali Khan met Lord Mayo at Amballa. He wanted a new treaty: a fixed annual subsidy, assistance in arms and men whenever he needed it, a full

recognition of his dynasty at Kabul and the acknowledgment of his favourite son, Abdulla Jan, as heir. Mayo could not agree to all the demands, but promised support of which the British were to be the sole judges in respect of time and measure. Difficulties once again began to arise on account of the Czarist intrigues and General Kaufmann, Governor of Russian Turkestan, corresponded freely with the Ameer of Kabul. When Lord Mayo was assassinated Anglo-Afghan estrangement had reached its climax, to which was added the Perso-Afghan difficulties over Seistan. When the dispute over the Seistan boundary was handed over to British arbitration, the result being in favour of Persia, animosity to England grew apace in Afghanistan.

In 1873 Russia annexed Khiva in Central Asia and distinctly menaced the independence of Turkestan and the Khanates. The Ameer of Afghanistan was also thoroughly alarmed by the wave of Russian territorial expansion beyond his northern border, and feeling justifiably uneasy Sher Ali Khan addressed the British Government for a closer friendship, but Lord Northbrook took a different view. In the following year Lord Beaconsfield became the Prime Minister of England, and Lord Salisbury was appointed as a Secretary of State for India. Great Britain made a definite demand to have her interests watched by an Englishman at Kabul, rather than by an Indian Moslem at the Court of the Ameer. The King of Kabul could not see his way to agree to the demand, arguing, as he rightly did, that the prejudices of his people at the time would impose too great a responsibility upon him in protecting a British agent in Afghanistan.

The second Afghan War (1878-1880) arose out of a mere shadow of excuse. Lord Lytton pressed the point of a British representative at Kabul, despite Ameer Sher Ali Khan's repeated explanation that to house a

national of the British Isles at that pitch of the Afghan temper was not possible, and the security of life of such a British gentleman he frankly admitted to be beyond his power to guarantee. Lytton took it into his head that the Ameer's excuse was inspired by the Russian intrigue against England, and also, when the British troops occupied Quetta in 1876, the Afghans began to have serious misgivings regarding the intentions of the Indian Government.

At last British troops entered Afghanistan and the Ameer having been defeated took refuge at Mazar-i-Sharief, where he died. The first phase of this war ended with the treaty of Gundamak in 1879, and Ameer Yakub Khan ascended the throne of Kabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was appointed the British envoy in Afghanistan, was murdered, which led to the British reprisals, and the new Ameer had to abdicate, giving place eventually to Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan, the nephew of Ameer Sher Ali Khan, in 1880. The most important event in Afghan history to note is that Lord Ripon recognised Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan as the ruler in Afghanistan, but he was not permitted to have direct dealings with any foreign powers; all such arrangements were to be carried through the British agency. This lasted till 1919, when, after the Anglo-Afghan War, Afghanistan gained her unqualified and complete independence.

THE AFGHAN RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

CHAPTER III

THE AFGHAN RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

THE Afghan history is so definitely interwoven with the religious associations of the people of that country that a knowledge of conditions in that regard is wellnigh imperative to understand at least one of the principal causes of ex-King Amanullah's dethronement.

The State religion in Afghanistan is Islam. The majority of the inhabitants belong to the Sunni sect, while the Afghans of Persian origin, the Hazaras, and the Afghan Turis of the Kurram border are Shiahs. Till quite recently the religious thraldom of the priests in Afghanistan was complete, and incidents are not unknown when the throne had felt that its security to a very large extent lay in being favourably disposed towards the fanatical Mullas. The influence that the clergy exercise upon the people centres round the proclamation of the holy war, or *jihad*. The orthodox law of Islam, known as Sharah, is emphasised both in legal procedure as also in governing the everyday life of an Afghan; for prayers five times a day, the pilgrimage to Mecca, the proportionate distribution of charity, and the fasting (corresponding to Lent) are practices which must be respected by everyone in the kingdom of Kabul.

Public offices allow their members time to offer prayers during working hours, and Fridays are regarded as general holidays in the Government offices, while the merchant may do his business only after the Juma prayer of that day. During the month of fasting, or Ramadan,

both business in the markets and work in offices are considerably decreased, because an Afghan Moslem must fast every day of the month from sunrise to sunset. No one, unless ill or on an arduous journey, is exempted from fasting. The pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during the lifetime is enjoined upon the faithful, and this command of Allah is most enthusiastically responded to by the Afghans in general whenever they can afford it. Then a certain amount of their earnings must be given as Zakat, or pious charity, which is, in most cases, controlled and disbursed by the Governments of each Afghan province, and is faithfully employed to the relief of the indigent poor and the destitute invalids.

The accepted principles of the Hanafee or the Sunni sect being current, a sense of conservatism in matters religious was indicated by the Afghans during their recent history. Indeed, it is said that some had bordered upon fanaticism. In support of this the following points were made: that it was ordered that the Hindus should wear a distinctive headgear, that the Shiahs were not to make public demonstration on days of Moharrum in commemoration of the Battle of Martyrs, that the plinth of their mosques should be five feet lower than the mosques of the established Church, that the Hindu girls and women were to use red or mustard-yellow burqa, or the veil; that the admittance of the Christian missionaries in the Afghan territory was prohibited; and that Qadyani missionaries, both during Ameer Habibullah Khan's and the ex-ruler's reign, were executed as heretics, for preaching the gospel of the Ahmedi sect. The whole really meant that there was no religious toleration in Afghanistan. It is only a half-truth, and a close examination will repay study.

In the case of the headgear of the Hindus and the womenfolk adopting differently coloured outdoor garb, one must not omit the fact that Afghanistan is a Moslem

country where the religious observances of that faith are enforced rigorously. If, during the month of fasting, a man was seen eating food in the street during the day, his action constituted a breach of public morals, because he was expected to be fasting. Frequently, however, when such cases were brought before the authorities, it was found that the offender did not belong to the religion of the Prophet of Mecca, and, being a Hindu, had really not committed any crime by not observing the fast. He wore the same dress as the Moslem Afghans, and spoke the same language. To save the difficulty, both to the administration and the subjects of the King of Afghanistan, a distinctive dress was ordered to be worn. Much of this applies in the case of the red-coloured burqas of the Hindu women. No slight was intended upon the Hindus, as the members of that community in Afghanistan had formed the backbone of the finances of that country.

The Qizalbash elements in Kabul, and in the western provinces of Afghanistan, are never known to have been placed under any stringent regulations as regards their religious festivals.

The truth about the fact that their places of worship should be five feet lower than those of the Sunnis was never substantiated; whilst the spectacular demonstration of mourning during the Moharrum is a practice which many of their own intelligent Shiah reformers do not favour, and no executive of Afghanistan is regarded as efficient without a strong leaven of the gifted members of that Shiah creed. Their prestige in Afghanistan has always been upheld in that country.

But great misgivings exist about the so-called " stoning to death " of the Qadyanis in Afghanistan. During the reign of Ameer Habibullah Khan, when a party of Ahmedis applied for permission to enter Afghanistan for the purpose of proselytising, the clergy of the estab-

lished Church very naturally resented it, and a rebellion was threatened against the Crown. The Ameer, in accordance with his liberal and tolerant religious outlook, arranged a compromise by which the learned Qadyanis should discuss the religious canons with the Afghan doctors of the Sunni faith. Before the two sections met it was contracted that if the Mullas of Afghanistan were convinced by the reasoning of the Qadyanis of India, then their missionary propaganda would be permitted in the Afghan territory. The professors of the rival religious schools, however, duly met in the great mosque at Kabul. Religious discussions took place before large gatherings of the faithful, many books were consulted, and at least twice the conference approached the point of a break-down and deadlocks ensued not infrequently; but it being a momentous step for the ruler at Kabul, the discussions were encouraged by the Ameer till the entire congregation, after hearing both sides with the co-operation of the Indian and Egyptian " religious observers," decided that the established Sunni tenets remain justified, and the Ahmedi claims regarding Mirza Sahib of Qadyan as being the promised Messiah were unacceptable: especially because the Qadyanis were said to hold that whosoever believed in the Koran and Prophet Mohammed, and not in the prophetship of Mirza Sahib, was not a Moslem. The conference having unanimously decided in favour of a ban on the Ahmedi missionary propaganda throughout the God-gifted Kingdom of Kabul, a written request to that effect was sent to H.M. Ameer Habibullah Khan, who, having signed it—thus setting seal upon the pleasure of his subjects—read it to the Qadyanis, and their mission returned to India.

It was further pointed out that in a country where Islamic law was current, and the Word of Allah was a proclaimed, acknowledged and established Church of

the State, any propaganda against such a system of religion was punishable by death, and that several commandments regarding Irtadad, or infidelity, were emphasised upon the clergy of Qadyan.

These proceedings, it was considered, were sufficiently definite to make it clear to the Ahmedis that they would be endangering their lives if they visited Afghanistan on a proselytising mission. Additional odium of unpopularity was placed upon the followers of Mirza Sahib when the Ahmedis proclaimed that their religious reformer was not only a reformer but a prophet of Allah. This belief, as is generally known, runs directly contrary to the first principles of Islam, by which a Moslem must believe that the Prophet Mohammed was the last of the prophets, and the Koran the last word of Allah.

Despite these warnings, men came from Qadyan to preach their gospel in Afghanistan, and an open defiance of the State decree cost them their lives.

The whole plethora of these sad events was made more regrettable by the cheap journalism of Indian papers, notably when the late Moulana Mohamed Ali likened the Afghans to savages, and denounced them mercilessly in his Urdu daily *Humdard*; whilst his brother, Moulana Shaukat Ali—married to an English lady—did not spare my people for the treatment meted out to the kind of Nimatullah, the Qadyani. The head of the Ahmedis sect in Qadyan sent protests to the League of Nations, and both steps served only to alienate farther the Afghan sympathy from the " prophet of Qadyan."

But the other aspect of the Afghan religious question should not be overlooked. All along the contemporary history the King at Kabul has left the necessity of centralising the bulk of the executive functions in his person.

This was essential if he was to retain his hold upon the country where, if not the " divine right of kings,"

certainly " individualism " in the Crown must be the prime factor in the Government. To achieve this the active co-operation of the Mullas, or the clergy, is of great significance. As the bulk of the people still live under the spell of the clergy, through the agency of the Mullas the King at Kabul can add to his power, and through their instrumentality too he can very materially suffer in his prestige and control. The frowns of the clergy of Afghanistan can imperil the safety of the Afghan King, or threaten his throne, as their blessing can consolidate his strength. I am prepared to hazard the opinion that this state of affairs is not entirely an unwholesome factor in the politics of Afghanistan. Frankly this influence is both advantageous and undesirable. It is favourable to the Afghan conditions for the reason that the preaching of the Mulla keeps up the martial spirit of the Afghan at white heat. That spirit is the one great and sure guarantee for the independence of Afghanistan. From what I have seen of the development of a sense of nationalism both in the East and the West, I have no hesitation in saying that the spirit of nationalism alone is not sufficient to safeguard the interests of Afghanistan in the " civilised " world.

With the progress of nationalism it is the economic factors that impel mankind to defence and struggle; and political economy is controlled by world finance, and wide consideration of commerce and industry. Wheels then appear within wheels, and no one can say precisely whether the laws of production and distribution alone, if introduced into the life-sap of the Afghans, will preserve the warlike aspect of their character to the extent of safeguarding their independence, situated as they are between two great empires. A strong hold of religion upon the imagination of the Afghans is distinctly indicated. That may be a curious reasoning, but it is indisputably true of tendencies obtaining in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that the fanatical teaching of the Mullas has circumscribed the progress of that country. The outlook of the people was narrowed down and a state of self-sufficiency was instilled as the best of the virtues. Slightest digression from the priest-made dogmas was frowned down upon, and the ideas of an advancing age were taken into no cognisance.

Now, this inclination of the Afghans was fully appreciated by Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan as soon as he crossed the Oxus to ascend the throne which awaited him at Kabul. In the autumn of 1895, when the Chitral question had been decided and the Ameer, after the successful campaign in Kafiristan, was pursuing theological studies, his ingenious mind evolved the scheme of writing a religious treatise upon the duties of a Moslem. Mulla Said Akbar, the Salar Faqeer, and other divines were invited by him to the capital so that he might read to them his book, *Twakim-ud-din*, on March 21st, 1896. The Mullas enthusiastically welcomed the Ameer's work, and not only welcomed him as the head of the State, but also considered him worthy to be styled as the head of the Church. At the great celebration of the Idd on May 25th of the same year, the clergy of the realm bestowed upon him the title of Ziaul-Millat-Wadd-din, meaning the Light of the State and the Faith. Not only was advantage taken of this favourable disposition of the Mullas by having himself indisputably acknowledged as the head of the Church in Afghanistan, but also he adopted the remarkable policy of taking the most influential Mullas in the service of his Government. In virtue of their service to the Government of Kabul, the anti-monarchist propaganda of the clergy was made impossible.

Ameer Habibullah Khan also received a religious title from the clergy of Afghanistan which read as Sirajul-

Millat-Wadd-din, but incurred the intense displeasure of the orthodox Church after his visit to India in 1906 by becoming a Freemason, for the Mullas thought that their King had revolted from the faith of his fathers by enrolling into a "cult" regarding which none knew anything; and the Ameer himself was unwilling to give out secrets. Taking the open volume of the Koran in his hand, the Ameer swore that there was nothing against Islam in Freemasonry. "Yes! Yes!" yelled a Mulla. "With due respect to the Crown, the Ameer Sahib is speaking negatively." Conscious of the great prestige and power of the priest-ridden hill warriors of Afghan uplands, the Mulla continued: "What we want to know is not what Freemasonry is not, but what Freemasonry is." It was the timely remark of a courtier that saved an awkward predicament in which the Ameer was placed.

Latterly, during the reign of the ex-King, as I shall detail later, we have had instances of both the love and hate of the clergy of Afghanistan which influenced politics there. The affection of the Mulla in the early part of King Amanullah Khan's reign greatly assisted the task of the new monarch at Kabul, but with the introduction of the Nazam Namah, or the Reformed Laws, an open rebellion took place at Khost, in Southern Afghanistan, which, although quelled, yet has left its morals.

A general review of the religious affairs as they are controlled by the clergy of Afghanistan I have endeavoured to give above is sufficient to prove the fact that, the position of a king at Kabul has never been an enviable one. Certain conditions that arise at Kabul and baffle the outside world by the absence of explanation in a Western sense, are not wholly detachable from the priestly influences at the Court. The King is frequently called upon to adjust the balance between an awakened Afghanistan and a conservative Afghanistan. The latter,

to some extent, is still living under the influence of the clergy; sometimes, indeed, the challenge of the Mullas is so definite that the greatest care has to be exercised to stave off the difficulties. The religion of Afghanistan deserves close study from all students of history of the Middle East. It is not fanaticism in the sense that it is a belief which admits no other point of view; rather it is a politic-religious culture peculiar to Afghanistan, though essentially Sunni and Islamic.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF AFGHANISTAN

Regarding their manners and customs, too, the Afghans are an interesting people inasmuch as folklorists perceive in their social habits of life a remarkable phenomenon of culture-mixing. That this should be so is not surprising, because myriads of cultural drifts have passed through it to India or westward, always leaving some forms of their beliefs, superstitions and even customs, which had lain undisturbed in the pockets of the Afghan hills. It is, therefore, not uncommon to find under the surface of true Islamic beliefs a lingering observance which can be traced to Indo-Aryan influences of long ago, or even traceable to the days of Persia's greatest glory. Such superstitions naturally are to be found amongst the village womenfolk: and must provide a fascinating study for future students of ethnology and folk-lore.

But it is, however, remarkable how in certain aspects of social habits the entire Afghan mind is rigid. In the first instance, an Afghan is intensely nationalist. In his estimation he is the salt of the earth. The only person whom he regards as his superior is a Syed or the descendant of the Prophet Mohammed. And yet, this national pride is not aggressive in the sense that it may incite a feeling of territorial or even a cultural expansion in his

mind. He is unconcernedly tolerant of other people's traditions, but his very own he will defend to the last drop of his life-sap.

In battle, as in prayer, Afghan soldiers and officers lose their rank differentiation. Every man considers himself the custodian of the traditions of his race. He takes the affair as his personal concern; a victory or death as journey's end. Superficial observers of Afghan character have mistaken his fearlessness as indicating a natural savagery or greed in order to gain loot. Nothing is further from the truth. His love of war is both his glory and duty: and once being in it he does not turn away.

I well remember a war story, when the officers of the Afghan Medical Service were removing a wounded Afghan soldier on a stretcher to a hospital. Coming to, the man got up and inquired as to why he was being taken away from battle. His severed right arm was pointed out to him.

" But why should I care for this wound ? " protested the man, " when my left arm is still intact, and then my teeth can do duty to slay the enemy."

Call it savagery, if you like; on my part I term it the usual sense of war-spirit which an Afghan always possesses, and, truth to tell, that has kept his undisputed independence.

During the war, too, the one unwritten law amongst the Afghans is never to loot or plunder a place which they may take during the hostilities. Women, above all, are never molested. Never has there been a case in Afghan history when a man's home has been forcibly raided. Nor would an Afghan allow his wounded comrade to lie unattended on a battlefield.

In their social habits the Afghan who is true to type does not hanker after fine clothes. Any homespun, so long as it is clean and not shabby, does for a garment: and at all meals the servant and master, the chieftain and

the vassal, will sit at one table with no social distinction of rank or wealth; and yet none will dream to take advantage of this custom by exceeding the limits of his duty as a superior or inferior when actually at work. The greatest of all the crimes according to the unwritten clan laws are theft, adultery and murder: the three connoting property, honour and life. Nor must one forget the law of hospitality, which not only means providing shelter and food to the guest, but actual protection from enemies: and incidents are on record when even a whole clan had to turn out to repel the attacks of another clan in order not to surrender their guest. Such guests may be, and often are, total strangers.

THE MIND OF THE AFGHANS

CHAPTER IV

THE MIND OF THE AFGHANS

No description of the Afghan people will be complete without a mention of their cultural evolution and habits of life: for it will be from these that one can judge the reactions of the various personalities who so conspicuously acted in the Afghan drama with Amanullah Khan.

Historically it is true that it was Ahmed Shah Durrani who welded the various Afghan clans into one nation: yet in regard to the dialects which are spoken there, it is to be noted that both the Persian and Pashtu or Afghani-speaking sections of the one and the same nation remain potent to this day. The court language is Persian now, as it has always been; the bulk of the Afghan people, especially in the central and western provinces of the country, know and use practically no Pashtu, whereas the clans of the eastern provinces, and to a lesser degree those of the south, are strictly speaking not Farsiwan—or Persian-speaking people.

Both of these two languages nevertheless flourished side by side, and throughout the decades of Afghan history a considerable literature was produced in them. But we may concern ourselves here with the Pashtu or Afghani, not because it is to be regarded as the universal language of Afghanistan, but on account of the fact that in Pashtu there has been little likelihood of the infiltration of the ancient Persian literary expression from exotic sources. In this sense, perhaps, we may regard Pashtu

as a purer fountain-head, expressing the real mind of the Afghans.

Many distinguished Afghan singers have arisen to leave a legacy of poetry and song to the hill-folk there, notable amongst them being Khushhall Khan, Kazim Khan Shaida and the Emperor Ahmed Shah Durrani himself. Notable, too, are their songs in regard to the fact that—beyond the Durrani Chief and perhaps Khushhall, Khan who flourished during the time of Aurungaz—these people had never left their mountain fastnesses to acquire a knowledge of poesy, hence their thoughts are to be considered as portraying the original Afghan mind.

But the most remarkable fact that emerges out of the study of their works is that, without exception, all of them are couched in that supreme metaphor and allegory in which the best of the Sufi poems are written by such giants of Islamic occultism as Omar Khayyám, Hafiz and even Rumi. This delicate difference is to be appreciated by observing the fact that a highland-mind generally shows itself in that wondrous war-like effusion and grandeur which is inborn in a race which has to defend its home and hearth. In a word, there is in their poems less of philosophy—at least taken in its big aspect—than war ballads. In this regard may I cite the illustrious name of Sir Walter Scott, or even Robert Burns ?

And as a matter of contrast, what do we find in Afghan mind ? True to their traditions as warriors and highlanders, the Singers of Afghanistan ought to have exalted the national spirit, or extolled the warring herds, and urged their folk to battle. According to the European conception of my countrymen, to be otherwise was tantamount to going contrary to the spirit of their people. In actual fact, of course, no such sentiments were manifested by the Afghans in their poetry. Instead you find in allegory and metaphor those deep-rooted ideals



AN UNCONVENTIONAL GARDEN PARTY AT KABUL. THE EX-KING IN THE CENTRE OF THE GROUP

of mysticism which shall always remain a glorious monument of Islamic teachings. In order that the inner significance of Sufi mysticism may be the more closely shut off from possible profanation, the language of erotesism and excess is frequently employed in its strophes to conceal hidden meanings.

Note the Emperor Ahmed Shah's Song of Love, when he takes the popular and beautiful heroine Layla as his theme, and places himself as her classic lover, Majnun:

To this degree is the heart affected by the love of Layla,
That Majnun, for aye, utters the praises of Layla.

He repeated no other lesson whatever, in this world,
Save that, on the black mole, and the ringlets of Layla.

This, unto him, is sleep, from pain and anguish free,
That he be occupied, day and night, with thoughts of Layla.

Lovers, that cry out, "Layla! Layla!" and mourn and bewail—
Kill the body, and make it immortal, by the name of Layla.

Draw near, Ahmed Shah! learn thou love from Majnun!
For he is famous, in the world for his love of Layla.

In its superficial meaning this is no more and no less a romantic piece; but both to the poet, and those who understand it, the composition is of a different sort. Wine, for example, signifies devotion; sleep, meditation on the divine perfection; perfume, the hope of divine afflatus. The term beauty is used to denote the perfection of God, and love-locks and tresses the infinitude of His glory. Superimpose these meanings on the common words of the above song, and see the hidden grandeur of the poet's soul!

Another particularly beautiful allegory is to be found in Mirza Khan's song. In places it has climbed higher

than the celebrated poets of Persia, not even excepting Jami or Moulana Rumi. Here it is:

How shall I define what thing I am ?
Wholly existent, and non-existent, thro' Him, I am.

Whatever becometh naught out of entity,
The signification of that nothingness am I.

Sometimes a mole in the disc of the sun;
At others, a ripple on the water's surface.

Now I fly about on the wind of association:
Now I am a bird of the incorporeal world.

By the name of ice I also style myself:
Congealed in the winter season am I.

I have enveloped myself in the four elements:
I am the clouds on the face of the sky.

From unity I have come into infinity:
Indeed, nothing existeth, that I am not.

My vitality is, from life's source itself;
And I am the speech, every mouth within.

I am the hearing-sense within every ear;
And also the sight of every eye am I.

I am the potentiality in every thing:
I am the perception every one within.

My will and inclination are with all;
With mine own acts, also, satisfied am I.

Unto the sinful and vicious, I am evil;
But unto the good beneficent am I.

In the lot of the devoted, I am the honey:
In the soul of the impious, the sting.

I am with every one, and in all things.
Without imperfection—immaculate I am.

'Tis by the mouth of Mirza that I speak:
An enlightened heart, without similitude, I am.

And then by comparison I find that the ideas of Afghan and English writers in a mystical plane have much in common. Take Blake and Thomson, separated by a long period of years, yet in both dwell the purest mystical traditions. In the Middle Ages, Blake would have been either canonised as a saint or burnt as a wizard. To him as to Durrani, or Shelley, or Rumi, the mind was the eternal substance, and body merely an incident. " I cannot think of death," he said, " as more than going out of one room into another." And, indeed, nothing can be a truer approach to the Eastern mind than this idea. Note what Kazim Khan, the Afghan poet, sings:

The habitations of this world behold, and begone!
A nest like that of the Phœnix behold, and begone!

The old in years, like little infants sport and play :
This very wonderful spectacle behold, and begone!

Should the sun, O Huma! upon my brow ever rest,
Do thou, in that case, my independence behold, and begone!

With the torch of thine own mind, in this darkness,
Lightning-like, the road to follow behold, and begone!

The fish have no share in the benefit of hands or feet;
But their swimming in the waters behold, and begone!

The wine-flask's one short hour in the convivial party,
With this full mouth laughing behold, and begone!

Every day it deceiveth Shaida with its friendship :
The friendship and constancy of fortune behold, and begone!

BUILDING OF THE AFGHAN STATE

CHAPTER V

BUILDING OF THE AFGHAN STATE

In the historical section of this book, it has already been mentioned that it was Sirdar Ahmed Khan—afterwards known as Ahmed Shah Durrani—who, reconciling the various sections of the Afghans, gave the people a national cohesion in 1747, and is thus to be regarded the originator of the Afghan State: but it was given to Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan, in 1880, to rebuild the real structure of the God-Gifted Kingdom of Afghanistan. Abdur Rahman, therefore, is the true modern law-giver in that country. In view of this significant fact, which has a bearing upon the reforms of Ex-King Amanullah, inasmuch as the basic principles of that organisation had remained intact during the rule of Amanullah's predecessor, it is relevant to the appreciation of the subject of this book to review those items of law and procedure which Abdur Rahman bequeathed to his son—father of Amanullah.

The departments of state were divided into Mulki and Nizami or Civil and Military Sections. The expenses of the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the salaries of foreign employees, and the pay of the troops were met by the Army Department, and in cash regularly every month: but the civilians were given a Barat or " pay-sheet " for their advance yearly pay, which they had to collect themselves from those who owed the money to the Government, either in land revenue or other taxes. The system naturally was subject to abuse, but the Ameer

argued that, in that manner, both time and money for a large staff of tax collectors and routine work were saved.

In the training of the troops the predecessors of this ruler had made a beginning, but no thorough system existed: and therefore it was Abdur Rahman Khan who organised artillery, cavalry and militia. Nor was there a definite arrangement about recruitment of soldiers, so that the system of Hasht Nafri was introduced, which consisted of calling on every eighth man for military training. Upon his qualification, another man in order of the number was sent to the military academy at Kabul.

Probably the noblest organisation undertaken was in the direction of reforms of justice. Let Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan give the details of it in his own way : " I will say, however," he adds in his Memoirs, " that the courts of law are not the same now as they were before I came to the throne. In certain cases the decisions are according to the Mohammedan law, subject to my approval, but in various matters the law has been changed to meet the altered circumstances and customs of the country. For instance, 300 rupees was the price of the life of a human being. I have abolished that law and instituted another, to the effect that a murderer is entirely at the mercy of the relatives and friends of the murdered person; if they choose to forgive him, the Government still retains a right of granting or withholding pardon. But even if the State does pardon him as well as the relatives and friends of the victim, he has yet to pay 7,000 rupees fine as a compensation to ransom his life. If he cannot afford to pay the fine, his relatives and friends are allowed to pay the ransom if they choose. According to the old Afghan law, the wife was not only considered the property of her husband, but the property of his whole family—brothers and rela-

tives; if, therefore, she lost her husband, his next-of-kin had the right of marrying her against her wish. This was the law of the land; a poor woman, therefore, who had the misfortune of falling into the hands of any family, had no possible chance of escape from them, and it was considered a disgrace to the family if she was allowed to go to her own parents or anywhere else after the death of her husband. The most curious idea was that it was considered to be following the law of Mohammed. This, however, was entirely opposed to Mohammed's teachings. The law that I have made is that the moment a husband dies, the wife is free, and she cannot be forced to marry anyone against her wish. Not only that, but by my law, a girl under the age of puberty, married by her parents, is quite at liberty, when she attains full age, to accept the marriage or not. Further, even after accepting the marriage, if her husband is cruel to her, or does not pay her expenses, she can sue him to give a sufficient alimony or to give her divorce. In the same manner, some important and influential families used to get their sons-in-law to sign such large amounts of dowry for their wives against their wish, that it was impossible for them to pay, even if his family joined together to help him. For instance, a man whose income was ten shillings a month was made to sign that he would give 500,000 rupees to his wife as her dowry; in default of paying the poor man was made a slave. I placed restrictions upon this law, and settled that the princes of the royal family were to give from 1,000 to 3,000 rupees for dowry, and other people from 300 to 900 rupees. Of course, if they had private means, and of their own free will choose to give more than this to their wives, they were quite at liberty to act according to their inclinations.

"There are some other great changes in the old ridiculous way of administering justice which would

require a book all to themselves if I were to give all the details. I have introduced a system of registration of marriages, so that there shall not be any disputes for want of sufficient evidence. If the Registrar should allow any illegal marriage or enforced marriage to be entered in his book, he is severely punished."

The views of Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan, the creator of modern Afghanistan, especially embodied in his " political Will " are so pregnant with diplomatic wisdom that I am tempted to give them here at some length. So true is his reading of the mind of his people that he foresaw the political pitfalls more than thirty years ago, which in a measure was the undoing of Ex-King Amanullah: for, quite apart from the fact that Abdur Rahman Khan has left a comparatively peaceful country to his son, it is undeniable that had his predecessor—Ameer Habibullah—not pursued the policy of his gifted father in quite a definite manner, he would have been faced with grave difficulties.

We should, therefore, study at length this remarkable document of Abdur Rahman Khan, entitled " Advice to my successors for making Afghanistan into a Strong and Prosperous Nation." In his own Memoirs he says:

" Having given a short account of the means that are at hand to make Afghanistan a great nation, I will proceed to give a short sketch of the modes and system by which this object is to be attained. I will not, however, go into every small matter concerning the welfare of the kingdom, but will only mention a few of the more important points which are necessary for making Afghanistan a great nation in the future.

" It is easy to understand that before furnishing a house one must think of making or finding a house to furnish; and in case of building a house it must be surrounded by walls to keep the goods safe which are put in it; and if the house is full of holes, ditches, snakes,

scorpions, etc., it is necessary to get rid of these before anyone can live in it. In the same way, it was of the first and greatest importance to mark out a boundary line all round Afghanistan, so that we should first know what provinces really belonged to Afghanistan before thinking of introducing any reforms and improvements therein. Fortunately, I have succeeded in defining the boundaries of Afghanistan with the neighbouring powers, and putting an end to their gradual moving forward. This has also removed the causes of misunderstandings and put an end to all possibility of raising quarrels between my neighbours and myself or my successors on this subject, without breaking the existing treaties. This is a great basis for progress and peace for my successors, and on this score they will have no occasion to trouble themselves in communicating with their neighbours.

" Taking into consideration that the boundary lines made a strong wall around the country, shaping it, as it were, into a house, it was necessary to clear that house of all the injurious scorpions existing in it, scorpions that formed a great obstacle in the way of peace and progress. To explain myself: I mean that I had to put in order all those hundreds of petty chiefs, plunderers, robbers, and cut-throats, who were the cause of everlasting trouble in Afghanistan. This necessitated breaking down the feudal and tribal system, and substituting one grand community under one law and under one rule. Luckily I have succeeded fully in this respect, as also in shaping Afghanistan into one united kingdom. Many of the tribal chiefs have been transformed from bitter enemies into warm friends, and I have placed them in high positions and offices under my Government. Those who did not agree to submit themselves to my rule and keep the peace have been sent out of the country; and there is not a man, from a chief to a beggar, throughout the whole country of Afghanistan, who has such power, or

any idea of claiming such power, as to offer resistance to my Government, or after my death, to my successors. Perhaps it would not be out of place here to ask those people who criticise my policy in demolishing or punishing some of these tribal tyrants and robbers, to glance at the history of all such empires as have risen from a feudal or blood-feud system to become civilised powers; they will then be able to judge for themselves whether these civilised empires had any fighting and bloodshed before they rose to their present system of Government or not!

" The first and most important advice that I can give to my successors and people to make Afghanistan into a great kingdom is to impress upon their minds the value of *unity*; unity, and unity alone, can make it into a great power. All the royal family, nobility and people must have one mind, one interest, and one opinion, to safeguard their homes.

" If my sons and successors are fortunate enough to continue united (which, so far as I can see, there is no reason to doubt, none of them being in a position to take up arms against that one who has absolute control over the army, treasury, and everything else), there is still a second difficulty to be considered, viz. the disunion of those members of the royal family who are outside Afghanistan. These members all come under two categories, namely, those who are under British protection —the British parasites; and the second, those who are under Russian protection. The first of these two classes need not be regarded in a very serious light—for the following reasons: Nearly all their followers of any importance or consequence have either arrived at Kabul, having deserted their chiefs, or are about to leave them to come to Kabul, or they are still remaining with their former chiefs in accordance with my instructions, taking their salaries from me openly or privately. The greatest

hero in the world could not face an army if he was single-handed and had no following behind him to back him up; therefore these poor creatures will follow the same course as the prince of the last royal family of Afghanistan (Suddozai), who died after growing old on British pensions in the hope of once more being placed on the throne of Kabul.

" The other matter requiring the gravest consideration of my sons and successors is to think of the three enemies who are under Russian protection. This is the only source of real danger, though this may be either of an insignificant kind or of more importance, according to the circumstances of the time. One thing is quite certain —that there is a danger. The reasons which lead me to warn my successors are numerous.

" But my son must not flatter himself that he will succeed to the throne if he does not make himself worthy of such an honour, or that after succeeding to the throne he will be able to keep it, unless he has the merits to keep it: he must therefore follow my advice and policy very keenly and strictly, otherwise it will be very difficult for him to maintain or even obtain the throne of Kabul. The first thing that he ought to do is to prove to the nation that he has a strong character, and is a self-reliant, hard-working, patriotic sovereign; for, in the case of failing in any of these three important points, he would not only lose his kingdom, but might put himself into still greater dangers. I do not mean to say that he must be so self-reliant as never to consult with any of his well-wishers, but I emphasise that no adviser or counsellor must make him into a mere mouthpiece: he must listen to all, but never follow any. He knows that every individual in the country (man or woman), from a beggar or a shopkeeper upwards, is now allowed to address a letter direct to the sovereign on any subject and on any matter that he likes to give information about;

and if such information proves to be true, and in the interests of government or of any of my subjects, the informant, whether he be employed in the detective service or not, must be properly rewarded. If the report be untrue, inquiries are made whether he made it with good intentions or from bad motives. In the latter case he is punished. I gather my knowledge from reports given me by the nobility, courtiers, officials, detectives, and any other subjects of my country who wish to give me information, in addition to reports brought me by my spies in foreign countries, who keep watch on the daily occurrences and circumstances. These last also send me newspaper cuttings concerning Afghanistan. So that, putting all these matters together, and reviewing them in my mind, I draw my own conclusions, never acting on the advice or report of anybody at all. My sons must not follow the policy of Ameer Shere Ali Khan, whose advisers kept him at war with all his brothers, one after the other, through the whole of his reign, and at the end embarrassed him in a war with Great Britain, which ended in his ruin. Nor must they follow the weak policy of Yakub Khan, who, trying to please the English, made such promises and concessions, that he was unable to carry them out. One example of this was his inability to prevent the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, after having invited him to the court of Kabul, for which mistake he also lost his throne. The British, too, who had placed their confidence in such a weak ruler, had to bear their share of the suffering as well. Nor must my sons follow the policy of my uncle, Azim, who, for lack of any patriotic spirit, or by doing any work at all in the administration of the kingdom, and by indulging himself in drinking and immorality, lost his throne and kingdom in the course of only a few months after I had placed him there. In like cases my son cannot help suffering in the same manner as the above-mentioned rulers of Afghanistan.

" I must mention one more point here as advice to my son, and that is, that in addition to his daily duties as a ruler, he must keep a fixed time for improving his knowledge and information, as I have done throughout my lifetime. The best system is that adopted by me, namely in the evening, when he is too tired to do any work himself, he must every night employ readers to read to him books of history, geographies of foreign countries, biographies of great kings and great men, without distinction of nation or country ; speeches and articles spoken or written by statesmen of all the Powers of the day; and all such articles and cuttings from the newspapers as concern Afghanistan or the countries and nations in which she is interested by their having some connection with her or with her friends or enemies.

" I will now proceed to discuss another matter, the mode of administering and ruling Afghanistan, which ought to develop gradually but steadily, so that the kingdom may become a strong, self-governed kingdom.

" The foundation-stone of a constitutional Government has been laid by me; though the machinery of representative government has not taken any practical shape as yet. It is necessary that every ruler should observe and consider the various modes of government adopted in various countries, not jump at conclusions in a hurry, but apply the best modes of governing gradually, modifying them according to circumstances and the position of his country. In my belief, the best principle of governing was that laid down by the great law-giver of Arabia, Mohammed, our Holy Prophet, may God bless Him. It was the system of a representative government divided into two parties; the Muhajir and the Ansar. The government was carried out on the principles of democracy; every member had the power of giving his vote and opinion; and the majority was to be followed.

" I have made the following arrangements for making Afghanistan into a constitutional Government. There are three kinds of representatives who assemble in my court and audience for consulting with me about the supplies for war materials and various other state affairs. These three classes of people are called Sirdars (or aristocracy), Khawanin Mulki (Commons, or representatives of the people), and Mullahs (ecclesiastical heads and church representatives). The first of these take their seats in the court by hereditary right, subject to the approval of the sovereign. The second are elected from among the chiefs of the country, who are chosen in the following manner. In every village or town there is one man elected by the citizens of that town who must have certain qualifications, which I need not give here in detail. He is elected by the inhabitants of that village or town, and is called Malik or Arbab. These Maliks or Arbabs elect another man from among them, but one of greater influence and greater importance in their province or constituency, whom they call their Khan (or chief). Our House of Commons is composed of these Khans. But in the matter of electing the Khans the final authority rests with the sovereign, who judges of the suitability of the election of these persons for the post of Khan by their merits, their position, their loyalty, their services or the services of their fathers: these facts are considered as well as the fact that the candidate has been already chosen by the people. The third party consists of the Khan Alum (the head of religion), the Kazis (ecclesiastical judges), Muftis (ecclesiastical heads of churches and inferior courts), and Mullahs (the priests). The last-named people are the ecclesiastical heads, and rise to the position of holding their seats in the Parliament by passing examinations in religious studies and in the laws of the country, and by serving in the religious departments.



A DRIVE FOR A PARTRIDGE SHOOT IN JALALABAD
PLAINS ON THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF AFGHANISTAN

" This constitutional body has not yet attained the ability nor the education to qualify it for being entrusted with authority of any importance for giving sanction to Bills or Acts of the Government. But in time they will perhaps have such authority, and in this way the people of Afghanistan will be governed for their own safety by themselves. I must strongly urge my sons and successors never to make themselves puppets in the hands of these representatives of constitutional Government; they must always reserve to themselves the full power of organising the army and keep it in their own hands, without admitting any right of interference by their constitutional advisers. And, further, they must keep the power of vetoing any reforms, schemes or bills passed and sanctioned by their Council or Durbar, or Parliament, as this body may be called.

" My sons and successors should not try to introduce new reforms of any kind in such a hurry as to set the people against their ruler, and they must bear in mind that in establishing a constitutional Government, introducing more lenient laws, and modelling education upon the system of Western universities, they must adopt all these gradually as the people become accustomed to the idea of modern innovations, so that they will not abuse the privileges and reforms given to them.

" To secure the crown and throne of Kabul for my son and successors from the foreign aggressors, the various claimants to the throne, and the rebels of Afghanistan, great attention must be paid to the military system of the country. Though I have dealt with this subject elsewhere, I will mention a few points for the consideration of my successor. It is of the utmost importance that the whole Afghan army should be armed with the best and most improved modern weapons. One million fighting men are more than enough for the protection of Afghanistan against any

foreign aggressor. With the above-mentioned number of fighting men available, Afghanistan need never fear any one of the greatest empires in the world. To secure this purpose the arrangements which I am trying to make are that each gun of modern improved design ought to have 500 shells, and each magazine repeater or Martini-Henry rifle, 5,000 cartridges, for the time of war. This quantity of arms and ammunition ought to be sufficient for 1,000,000 soldiers. These men I have divided into two classes: 300,000 regular army, and 700,000 volunteers and militia; the last-named must, however, be properly trained and drilled.

" In addition to the war material, there should be also ready for any emergency in the stores of the country itself provisions for the food of the above-mentioned force sufficient for three years, together with elephants, camels, horses, pack-ponies, mules and other transport animals, for the needs of the army within the dominion of Afghanistan in the possession of the transport animal hirers, including the Government transport animals. It is the case with many great and rich Powers that much difficulty is experienced in getting proper transport for moving their armies from one place to another; indeed, this difficulty is greater than that of finding the men to fight, or of supplying them with arms. But, praise be to God, the Afghans are such a strong, healthy, hearty people that they can run over the mountains of their country nearly as fast as horses, carrying, at the same time, their guns, ammunition, tents, and food, for a few days, on their backs. A very limited number of transport animals is therefore required for a considerable number of men. It would not be an exaggeration to say that 100,000 English soldiers require more transport animals than 1,000,000 Afghans, because they require so many kinds of provision, wine, soda-water, and other luxuries.

" Some critics will say that though an English soldier

requires the comforts of a prince, he is a splendid fighting man also; I quite agree with these critics, for I have a very great admiration for the English soldier and his merits; I am only discussing here the pack-ponies, not the merits of the men. To supply all these arms, provisions, etc., for 1,000,000 fighting men requires money, and I am therefore only increasing the number of my army in proportion to the increase in the income of the Afghan Government. And though the regular army, paid by the Government, has required no more than 300,000 men, as mentioned above, the Government treasury ought to be sufficient to supply for keeping 1,000,000 fighting men for at least two years, for a war that might last that time, before we could think of counting upon putting such a large number of men in the field. This is not all; it would be necessary also to keep a sufficient sum of money in the treasury to maintain the manufactories for the supply of ammunition to the army in the field, and other war materials as required. It is also necessary that iron, lead, copper, and coal should be taken out of the mines of Afghanistan itself in sufficient quantities.

" The arrangements upon which I have been, and am occupied, have proceeded so far that I can put this number of fighting men into the field to-day, though the regular army is not large enough, the fighting men are sufficient. I can also supply the above-mentioned number of forces with artillery, guns, ammunition, and swords from within Afghanistan itself. There is also an ample store of corn for their food, and transport in the country itself.

" Two things are wanted, however: one is to raise the number of the regular army and military officers to the number of 300,000 as calculated. This, I am afraid, will take a considerable time. This is not a point to be anxious about, because the Afghans have shown them-

selves many times to be born soldiers and warriors on occasions when, as peasants, they fought with the most brilliant, gallant and best-trained soldiers in the world.

" Concerning the stores for the food and provisions for the army which I have built in every large and important town in Afghanistan, I advise my son and successors to follow my example in keeping these stores filled with corn by renewing the stores every year, giving the old corn to the army at a cheaper rate than they could get it elsewhere in lieu of their pay, selling the rest, and buying fresh barley and corn to replace that sold and given away. What is sold is generally bought up by the stable-masters for the pack-ponies, horses and transport animals. My son and successors should not listen to inexperienced people who criticise my policy in keeping 48,000 horses and pack-ponies ready, and thousands of tons of corn. These critics say: 'Why should the Government bear the expense of keeping so many transport animals? we can easily buy or hire them from the country at the time when necessity arises.' These critics do not consider that at anxious moments there are so many things to think about and look after that there ought to be always things ready to begin with, as much time and many valuable opportunities are lost by having to make preparations afterwards. Besides, these transport animals are always employed, thereby saving as much money to the Government treasury as they cost to keep.

" My sons and successors must not flatter themselves by merely looking at the large number of the army; they must keep in view that the most important point, one to be ever present to their minds, is to keep this army happy and satisfied. It is better not to have any army at all than to have a hostile and discontented one. To find out how to keep armies satisfied and contented will depend on the common sense of their king himself; one

thing is certain—they must not be drawn by conscription, and they must be paid regularly.

" The army should be regularly paid, as I have before said, and the pay should be in cash paid monthly from the Government treasury. They must not have orders on the revenue of the country given them to collect for themselves, as was the rule in former times. A soldier whose mind is anxious about his pay and the expenses of his family cannot devote all his attention to his duties. And if a soldier goes into the country to collect the revenue debts for his monthly pay, who is to fight in his stead ?

" Soldiers are made into brave men, properly trained for fighting, and devoted to their duties, by brave, heroic, popular officers. And a handful of good soldiers under a brave military officer can do wonders.

" In selecting the military officers, in their organisation and promotion, great precaution should be used. All the officers of the army ought to be most reliable, meritorious, devoted and loyal servants of the Crown, and, if possible, belonging to good families. I do not approve of promotion by seniority, but promotion depending upon examination into their merits, their services, their bravery and administration in time of war, their good behaviour, their loyalty, and last, but not least, by their popularity among the soldiers. To my mind the last-mentioned is the most important of all.

" All the officers of the army must learn the modern science of war from the books which have been translated into Persian, and are still being translated from English. My sons and successors must never forget my advice in this respect, that they must never accept offers of military officers if made by any of the Powers bordering on Afghanistan.

" The Courts of Justice that I have established are far more numerous than those existing under former Amirs,

yet there is still much scope for opening further Courts, as the Government finances come to permit of more expense being incurred for this object. With more Court-rooms in different provinces, people would not have to travel from the places where they live in order to have their cases tried and judgments passed.

" But as more cases had to be tried than the Courts could decide, and there was not enough money in the Government treasury to spend upon opening further Courts to meet the demand, in order that judgment might be hastened, many cases were decided verbally, without passing through any office or making any record. The whole procedure was over in a few minutes; for the plaintiff, the defendant, and all the witnesses were brought before the judge, who, when he had heard both sides of the question personally, without having them written down, passed judgment on them on the spot; and then the next case was gone into. In this manner several judgments were given in one day. Now all cases relating to hereditaments, property, and mercantile affairs, etc., are entered in the registries, and Government records of them are kept for reference. It is necessary that clerks should be appointed to the Courts and all matters recorded in writing, so that there shall not be any misunderstandings or wrong decisions: copies of the judgments must also be kept for reference, as well as for purposes of appeal.

" It is most necessary that all these changes in the Courts of Law, and in the administration of justice, should be made gradually, because if a mild or lenient policy be adopted before the people can appreciate clemency, it would seem like encouraging an unruly and rebellious people, and would injure the minds of the people.

" My son should also read very carefully the book, entitled *Anwari-Suheili*. This, aided by a little common

sense and precaution, will be of very great use. But to foresee the feelings and motives of all neighbouring Powers, and to realise the difference between friends and enemies, requires, in addition to the intelligence department, and a study of the above-mentioned documents and book, a great deal of thought and consideration also. All the studies in the world will not make a ripe and clever statesman. These studies, if combined with a lack of natural merit, will have the result described in the following story:

" ' A king placed his son under the tutorship of a most learned astrologer, and told him that he would pay him more than the parents of all his other pupils, but in return, he must teach his son more than he taught any of his other pupils. After a certain period the king took a silver ring into his hand, and asked one of the pupils the following questions: " What is in my hand ? " The boy, drawing conclusions from his study of the stars, said, " It is something round." The king's next question was: " What is the colour of it ? " " White," said the boy. " What is it made of ? " " Silver," was the answer; " and it is hollow in the centre." The rest could be easily guessed, that it was a silver ring, and this the boy answered to the king's satisfaction. Now came the turn of the king's son, who, by the help of his studies, delivered the same answers, namely that it was made of silver, and was hollow in the centre, but he had not the sense to know that an engine does not require a silver fly-wheel, and that the fly-wheel of a large engine cannot be held in a man's hand; therefore, after making his calculations, he answered that it was the fly-wheel of a traction engine that his father held in his hand. The king repeated this answer to the teacher, who replied: " The answers your son gave were correct so far as study was concerned, he only went wrong where common sense was concerned.' "

" For the maintenance of a kingdom, and the strength and prosperity of a nation, religion, too, is a very great factor: a nation without a religious belief would soon become demoralised, and begin to decline until it fell altogether. The Muslims are brave, because they have always been very strict in religious observances, and staunch in following the rules of their faith. I have written separate books dealing with the subject of the protection of our religion and its strict observance; I have also written upon Jihad (to fight for religion and truth, and to maintain it). Among the books and pamphlets I have written on this matter, which are published in Persian, those named *Takwin din* (the strong foundation of religion) and *Pand namah* (my advice), are of great importance, and every Muslim ought to read them. I need not say much about religion, but recommend my readers who are interested in this to read the above-mentioned ones. I advise my successors not to break down and do away with the system upon which I have established the Muslim faith in Afghanistan. It is this, that all the land and property, as well as money, which used to support the Mullahs, is transferred to the Government treasury, and monthly fixed salaries are paid out of the treasury to the persons employed in the religious services, e.g. Kazis, Muftis, Imams, Muezzins (those who call the faithful to prayer), and Muhtasibs (overlookers or protectors).

" By adopting this system, the Muslim ecclesiastical law, and its administration, are vested in the hands of ecclesiastical officials selected and appointed by the Crown; and they hold their offices under the sole privilege of the Crown. They are therefore bound, willing or unwilling, to obey the Crown, which stops all divergences and innovations, substituting for these a general unity. Unity in Islam is the first cause or motto of its strength.

" Do not ye know what blessings the true faith of Islam has awarded to you; uniting your scattered tribes and communities into one brotherhood ? "—Koran.

" By the very wisest policy, the aim of our Holy Prophet, in introducing changes into the lives of the people, was to render them very closely united together; so as to be always in close touch and association with each other. For instance, he ordered people to dine together instead of dining alone; to say their daily prayers together in a mosque instead of saying them in private; and to say their Sabbath-day prayers in the principal mosque of the town or province, which means that all the people of the town or province, though they do not meet each other at daily prayers, should assemble at the weekly service, as also in still larger numbers on the days of Id, which fall twice in the year. A further rule is that of going on pilgrimage to Mecca, which, naturally, brings Muslims from every part of the world, from every country, East and West, together on one day, and in one place. Some people remark that these large gatherings are a cause of disease and plagues. I am not now dealing with the question of sanitation ; but I would ask how it is that the people of London and other large cities, who are more in number than the pilgrims at Mecca, do not die of plague. The reason is, that in those cities the very rules which the religion of Mohammed teaches more strictly than any other, rules tending to cleanliness and sanitation, are properly observed. The pilgrims who go to Mecca ought to obey Mohammed's laws, observing cleanliness, eating wholesome food, and drinking pure water; it is no use for Muslims to obey one part of Mohammed's commands, and to leave the rest unobeyed.

" I advise my sons and successors to continue making new roads as I have done, but to postpone the introduction of railways, those most important means and necessary factors of trade, until such time as we shall

possess a sufficient army for the protection of our kingdom. But the moment that we see that we are strong enough to protect our country, and have organised the army as planned by me, then will be the time to make railways and introduce the telegraphic system, so as to enable us to benefit by our minerals and other sources of wealth. Then will be the time when Afghanistan (which with its beautiful climate and lovely fruits and fresh air is in the summer like Paradise) will become a centre for travellers and rich people in search of health and amusement. Switzerland has the same climate as Afghanistan; but in its fruits and in the beauties of the mountains and Oriental scenery, Afghanistan would prove a greater attraction than even Switzerland to travellers. Travellers take money into a country and spend it there; they hire horses and carriages and buy goods and curios and articles of native manufacture. To encourage travellers to come to Afghanistan is one way to bring happiness and prosperity to my people.

" What I wish to impress upon my sons and successors is never to give their railways or mines to any foreigners by concessions, but to make the railways and work the mines themselves, as far as they can find money for doing it. Railways ought to be opened, at first, in the interior of Afghanistan, quite away from the boundaries of the neighbouring Powers, and should run only between one town and another in the country itself. By and by, however, when the country is strong enough to defend itself against all foreign aggression, then the railway lines may be joined on to those of the neighbouring countries in such a manner that the lines will be put in connection with whichever Power is less hostile than the other. If it be considered necessary and advisable that concessions should be made to any foreigners, such concessions must be given in small portions and to nations whose countries do not touch the boundaries of

our own dominions. For instance, to Americans, Italians, Germans, and so forth, whose possessions and countries are not in touch with Afghanistan. In my opinion, if a very large number of Europeans, such as engineers and the like, be required for the service of our Government, preference should similarly be given to the people of these countries already named. My sons and successors must hold fast to their promises, and avoid falsehood and breaking of faith, whether such promises are made to private individuals and merchants, or to Powers and Governments. For even if there be a loss in keeping a promise and an advantage in breaking it, still that temporary loss will bring more benefit to them by the credit and good reputation attendant on keeping good faith.

"Where truth stands untruth cannot stand; truth is sure to overcome falsehood."—Koran.

"We must keep the example of our Prophet always before the eyes of our mind. For our holy Prophet Mohammed, even before he was announced to be a prophet and a reformer, used to be called by all the community of Arabia by the name of 'Mohammed the honest.' This was the true reason for his success; for when he claimed to be a missionary of God, even his enemies admitted that there was no doubt about his honesty, and being so honest, he would never say that he was a messenger from God if it were not the truth. It was owing to his honesty that his employer, Khudija, who was the richest lady in Arabia, became devoted to the man who was only her servant and commercial agent, since in all his business transactions he was faithful and true. The result was that she not only placed her confidence in him, and put all her affairs and money into his hands for him to dispose of as seemed best to him, but she also placed herself at his pleasure and married

him. She was his strong ally in his religious as well as in his temporal affairs, and though he was twenty-five and she a widow of fifty when he married her, he never married another woman in the twenty-five years of their married life. His truthfulness and faithfulness were so great that whenever after her death he was questioned by his devoted and beautiful young wife, Ayesha, whether he loved her more than his deceased wife, he always answered that he loved his deceased wife more. It is a favourite proverb: 'Go straight, and you will find every difficulty smoothed before you,' and Mohammed says: 'Truth is the power of your souls, and untruth is their poison.'

"There is another suggestion for the progress of commerce and enrichment of the country of equal importance to the making of railways, if not indeed of greater importance. It is also one of very great political importance for keeping up the prestige of the nation and civilising it, by bringing it into touch with the world outside. I mean that Afghanistan ought to secure a footing upon the ocean, and have a port for its own steamers to load and unload at. The south-western corner of Afghanistan is very close to the corner of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and from this only a small, plain plateau of ground between Kandahar, Baluchistan, Persia, and part of Karachi. Before I succeeded to the throne of Kabul, I always had a great fancy for a little piece of this sandy desert, unimportant at present, but of great value if annexed to Afghanistan in order to bring the country in touch with the ocean. But the time has not yet arrived for emphasising this point. If the friendship now existing between Great Britain and Afghanistan grows in strength and becomes properly cemented, so that England comes to trust Afghanistan thoroughly and look upon their interests as identical, and to be desirous of making Afghanistan a strong

barrier between Russia and India, it would be very easy for her to give this little piece of land to the Afghan Government, in return for some services or in exchange for some other piece of country, or for some other concession, or perhaps for an annual payment of money as revenue, retaining, at the same time, her suzerainty over this piece of land. If Afghanistan had access to the ocean there is no doubt that the country would soon grow rich and prosperous, and it would never be wanting in gratitude to Great Britain for such concession. If no favourable opportunity occurs in my lifetime to bring about this purpose, my sons and successors must always keep their eyes on this corner. They must also keep in view the idea of having small boats on the River Oxus, which will be useful for trade as well as for the protection of our north-west frontier. I hope and pray that if I do not succeed in my lifetime in the great desire for making railways, introducing telegraphs and steamers, working the mines, opening banks, and issuing bank-notes, inviting travellers and capitalists from all parts of the world, and opening universities and other modern institutions in Afghanistan, my sons and successors will carry out these desires of my heart, and make Afghanistan what I desire it to become. *Amen !* "

AMEER HABIBULLAH AND AFTER

CHAPTER VI

AMEER HABIBULLAH AND AFTER

Amanullah's Father

WHEN Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan died in October 1st, 1901, the remarkable happened in the Afghan history: his eldest son, Habibullah, the heir, sat on the throne without any untoward happening on the third day after the death of his father. It is to the eternal glory of that wonderful Afghan, Abdur Rahman, that he had managed the affairs of the State so well that the responsibility of the Afghan Crown did not create any uneasiness or perils in the way of the new Ameer.

Practically all the possible claimants of the throne were silenced by voluntary exile from the country of their birth, or their interests placated by lesser reward than the rulership of Afghanistan. All recalcitrant tribesmen were definitely subdued, and the State was placed on a high pedestal of civil management. I pay tribute to the last phase merely as a matter of comparison between a lawless country and a people where the authority of the central Government was acknowledged for the first time. The system, nevertheless, was not free from deficiencies which every system must possess in the beginning.

But whereas Ameer Habibullah Khan ascended the throne under very favourable circumstances, that is, unprecedented peace prevailed in Afghanistan in internal and domestic matters, yet, as matters of the subsequent eighteen years showed, Abdur Rahman could not have

left a worse period of international difficulties to his son.

Three very definite periods mark Ameer Habibullah's reign. The period immediately following his accession to the throne, in which he was to battle with the prejudices of his people against foreigners. The second, a period of reorganisation and consolidation, which very unfortunately was but a prelude to the concluding phase beginning and ending with the Great European War.

Here again I must emphasise the fact that although this portion of the narrative has no positive and intimate connection with ex-King Amanullah personally, yet all these factors directly or indirectly converge on those incidents that go to form a stage on which that unfortunate grandson of Abdur Rahman—ex-King Amanullah—was the chief actor. Let us then review the prejudices against the foreigners with which Habibullah was confronted.

To understand that phase of the Afghan situation it must be realised that the attitude of the people as a whole, ever since the days of Ameer Dost Mohamed, has been one of distrustfulness towards foreigners. The unity of the country, as is indicated above, was not achieved until Abdur Rahman, grandfather of ex-King Amanullah, ascended the throne. He did everything in his power to convince his people that the British were their friends, nor were the Russians, in reality, the less so. In this regard he was not wholly successful, so deep-rooted was the anti-foreign prejudice in all parts of Afghanistan. He, however, did much to influence large sections of his subjects to regard them with a degree of favour. Many Afghans were entirely neutral.

Ameer Abdur Rahman was both ambitious and patriotic. Two predominating considerations directed his policy. In the first place, he wished to win back all the lost provinces of his grandfather and consolidate a

kingdom for his descendants which would be permeated by strong national feelings; and, in the second place, he desired to have his kingdom entirely independent of foreign control, and left to develop itself on such lines as the people approved. He favoured foreign assistance, but within limits; such assistance he held must not involve interference with purely Afghan affairs. He employed British, French and Indian subjects, who were taken to Kabul so as to train his subjects as artisans and traders. Strict watch was kept on them so that they might not interfere with Afghan politics. This precaution was a needful one. An Indian Moslem medical man, for instance, as matters showed subsequently, was found to be taking a great interest in a political movement and was ultimately implicated in a plot. He was consigned to prison and was not released till Amanullah's time. It did not matter to the Afghan Moslems, that the political offender was their co-religionist. It was sufficient for them that he was the subject of a foreign government and had interfered with Afghan politics.

The actions of this injudicious Indian doctor did much to confirm the suspicions of many people in Kabul, that most foreigners are dangerous, and that they must be on their guard against them. This anti-foreign feeling has naturally been directed towards their nearest neighbours, namely, the Russians and the British. In consequence many Afghans were obsessed by the idea that, if they are to retain their liberty, they must keep Russian and British subjects out of their country.

It is not difficult to account for this prevalent and, in places, violent anti-foreign prejudice. The Afghans followed with anxiety the gradual absorption by Czarist Russia of Central Asia. They were also aware of the capitalist Russian scheme to invade India by violating their country. Although they were informed, time and again, that the Russians had given repeated assurances

to the British Government that they would respect the boundary line between Turkestan and Afghanistan, there were frequent clashes between Russian and Afghan outposts at Panjdeh, on the Murghab and on the Pamirs. They could not trust the northern foreigners. Had the Russians not formed a secret alliance with Ameer Shair Ali which resulted in the second Afghan War ? Had the Russians not incited Persia to claim Herat, and had not Herat been attacked by the Persians with Russian co-operation and assistance ? It was clear to the Afghans that Russia desired to add their country to its Turkestan Province, so that it might become the cockpit of the struggle for the possession of India. It is not to be wondered at that Afghanistan dreaded and hated Czarist Russia.

On the other hand, many Afghans were suspicious of the good intentions of Great Britain also, because it had waged wars against their country. They also feared that Britain, even although it inclined to friendliness, was dangerous because it appeared to be less powerful than Russia during the Kaufmann military occupation of Turkestan. When the two powers set themselves to arrange an agreement regarding Afghan territory, the Czarist Russian diplomatists appeared to be invariably astute and influential enough to " make the best of the deal." The Provinces of Panjdeh, Shighnan, Roshan and Durwaz were secured by the Russians by force. The Afghans believed that they would have held their own if the British Government had not controlled their policy. They held that it was through British interference and Russian misunderstanding of geographical conditions and racial questions that Afghanistan lost such large areas of their country.

Anti-British feeling was also fostered in consequence of the fact that the British Government had deposed their Ameers and kept the deposed men in India and, for some

reason not understood by the people, pensioned them as if to hold them in reserve for future contingencies. The average Afghans regarded that phase of the British policy as one directed to interfere with the freedom and independence of their country. It was difficult to make the Ameer's subjects believe that Great Britain was checkmating Russian movements in Central Asia, and endeavouring to strengthen Afghanistan so that it might ever be a buffer state between Czarist Russia and India.

My concern here is not to excuse the anti-British feeling that prevailed among sections of the people of Afghanistan, but to inquire into its origin. The British and the Russians were hated because Afghan freedom was in danger. It is important to bear in mind that the sole cause of anti-foreign feeling was the dread of the loss of Afghan independence. Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan was well aware of Afghan sentiments in this connection. When he ascended the throne he did everything in his power to have himself recognised as an independent monarch.

Great Britain gave him due recognition, but within limits. He was denied the privilege of dealing directly with the British Government. The arrangement was that all negotiations should be conducted through the subordinate Government of India. His wish to have an ambassador in London was refused. He contended that as an independent monarch, an ambassador was the proper intermediary. It is undoubted that he was deeply disappointed by the refusal of the British Government to negotiate with him through their Foreign Office, which has ever enjoyed so excellent a reputation for international dealing. He sent his son, Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, to England so as to prevail upon the British statesmen to reconsider their decision, which pained and surprised him. He could not understand why his

independent state should be denied the privilege accorded to other independent states.

The mystery surrounding the British refusal has never been cleared up. It has been stated, time and again, that Sirdar Nasrullah Khan's mission failed because he was "too arrogant,"—"too proud" and "really impossible." But, granting the Sirdar was haughty and firm—he was expected at home to be firm—his attitude, even although it may have involved want of tact, did not alter the principle which he did his utmost to urge and from which he refused to depart. It seemed quite clear, at the time, to those who recognised that the Afghan claim was a perfectly fair one, that for some reason best known to themselves the then statesmen were opposed to Afghanistan coming into direct touch with London. The desire was evidently to keep Afghanistan under the control of the Viceroy of India. Just as India, prior to the Mutiny, was kept under the control of the East India Company. Afghanistan was thus denied the privilege enjoyed by Persia of having a representative in London, and its people could not help being made to feel that it was virtually a semi-dependency although nominally independent.

At the time when Sirdar Nasrullah Khan's mission was widely discussed, it was urged in excuse for the attitude adopted that as India was in such close proximity to Afghanistan the Indian Government was in a position to understand local conditions much better than the Foreign Office or India Office in London. The same argument applied to Persia, and even to China. It carried with it a slight on the British Foreign Office and the India Office in London, which I believe to be the most perfect in the world. If these offices are able to deal with Siam, China and Japan, surely they were not incapable of dealing with Afghanistan. It was hard to convince the Afghan statesmen that the British Government cannot

be safely guided by its Foreign Office, and that its relations with the Indian Government could not be safely supplemented by direct relations with the India Office in London. It was not forgotten that Great Britain solemnly declared during Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty that it desired a " friendly, strong and independent Afghanistan." That that was still Great Britain's policy no British subject could doubt. But, at Kabul, those who were undoubtedly pro-British found it difficult to defend the attitude of the past British statesmen, who opposed the policy of direct representation by having an Afghan representative in London. If this privilege were then granted, my critics urge, there would have had to be a British Ambassador at Kabul. I agree, and it would be found that the Ameer would have willingly consented to such an agreement. Those who are familiar with the political " cross currents " at Kabul had no hesitation in stating that if they were brought into direct contact with London a new and happy era would have been inaugurated. Afghanistan would have come to know and understand Great Britain and Great Britain would have come to know and understand Afghanistan, and not have to depend upon information gathered from a complicated system.

Habibullah's difficult task

The reign of Amanullah's father did begin without episodes such as were common in Afghan history on the death of a ruler there, yet he could not but feel the pressure of his nobles who were not wedded to a pro-British view; hence he worked hard to convince his people that an alliance with England was a correct policy. Even that took him four years' hard manœuvring till it culminated in his signing and reaffirming the Durand Convention: and received a Mission under Sir Louis Dane. A subsidy, which was granted to his father,

was increased to eighteen lakhs of rupees annually in consequence.

The able political assistant of that Mission, Mr. A. H. Grant (now Sir A. Hamilton Grant), regarding whose excellent endeavours towards an Anglo-Afghan friendship further mention will be made later in this book, gives an excellent picture of Kabul and its atmosphere during the reign of a monarch whose escapades were driving his subjects to political frenzy. Speaking of the capital city of Afghanistan and his impressions of a walk through it, he says, in *Blackwood's Magazine*:

"It was a strange sight. The teeming crowds—Afghans tall and fierce, Usbegs with great sheep-skin hats like Guardsmen's busbies, Turkomans from the north, Hazaras with flat cheery faces, mendicant Mullahs in patchwork rags, Jews and Hindus, Armenians and the scour of Central Asia—the flotsam and jetsam of the nomad East, each busied with his own little affairs. But over every face there was the shadow of a cloud—a shifty, uneasy glance of the eye, the gloom of an abiding fear or mistrust. As in Imperial Rome, so in Kabul to-day, no man knows when the charge of treason may not tap at his door and he be hurried off secretly, no man knows whither. In the comparative security of democratic freedom, hard won after centuries of political development, we are apt to raise our hands in holy horror that such things should be, forgetful that liberty cannot be gained or granted in a day, and that the nation, as the individual, must pass through inevitable phases before it can attain political or social emancipation. In our human intolerance of oppression, we are apt to forget the exigencies of history and national characteristics. Here is a people untamed as any on earth, advanced, indeed, for the Middle East, but a thousand years behind the West in the arts of peace. Here is a dynasty, founded with our goodwill twenty-six

years ago, to govern as best it may, conformably with the maintenance of external peace. The wonder is not that the ruler of Afghanistan rules with whips, but that he can rule without scorpions. The late Ameer, whose genius enabled him for the first time in history to consolidate the wild peoples of Afghanistan into one orderly kingdom, breaking the isolated feudal power of the local chiefs, and welding the country into a homogeneous whole, had recourse to methods of repression and punishment which would find but little favour at Exeter Hall. But that these methods were the only methods possible, no one who has lived among Pathans would for a moment deny. We may be thankful that so strong and unflinching a ruler was forthcoming for the task. Otherwise we should have been confronted with the task ourselves. Should we have succeeded as well? Happily for the present Ameer, he finds that the good work of his father lives after him, and that such drastic measures are now not often called for. But in Kabul intrigue is rife. There are plotters ever busy, and the people are notoriously fickle. Hence he who rules Afghanistan must rule it with an iron rod, and when he strikes, must strike hard. Espionage is inevitable, with all its grim uncertainty."

The only inference in this otherwise excellent reading of the situation, which gives a bad taste in my mouth, is when he is glad to observe that the thankless job of governing Afghanistan did not fall to the lot of his people: yes! indeed, it would have been a thankless job, for the British in some previous years have had a short experience of governing in Afghanistan. They had even collected the land revenue at Kabul . . . but enough said . . . the Afghans are now friendly with the British and wish to remain so.

The Indian visit of Prince Inayatullah Khan, the elder brother of ex-King Amanullah Khan, and then an extended tour of Amir Habibullah Khan, were all indica-

tions of the fact that Afghanistan meant to be friendly with her neighbours. The power of the ruler had by 1912 assumed an enormous control in all State matters, the Court at Kabul was definitely a pro-British Court, and regular annual remittance of eighteen lakhs from India was adding very considerably to the Afghan exchequer. Nor must it be forgotten that this money was given to the ruler to make himself an independent monarch, to strengthen his frontier—North-Western chiefly—and, above all, that in consideration thereof he was not permitted to have any direct dealings with any foreign powers other than the British, the naked truth being that he was a subsidised vassal of the Indian Empire. The latter implication gnawed at the vitals of nationalist Afghans, but Amanullah's father was always too powerful to stifle the slightest indication of disapproval in that regard.

Gradually, however, the Afghans began to fret over this autocratic control of the Ameer over national matters. Personal jealousy, in many cases, was responsible for having very severe penalties imposed upon the young Afghans. Favouritism at court was merely a matter of staging faked intrigues against the life of the King, plots and counter-plots thickened, the money of the State became the " private property " of the ruler to be spent on dress, on new buildings, on modernisation, on vanity, on purposeless pageantry of Durbars, in defraying the expenses of enormous State banquets, on paying large salaries to foreign employees: meantime the Ameer beguiled his time in shooting, fishing, photography, and even in cooking. And anybody who is at all aware of the psychology of the Afghans can well imagine that only the hardest worker, the most devout nationalist, almost a recluse in matters of personal comfort, can retain the throne amongst the hard-thinking and hard-living people of Afghanistan. Kabul is the last place for a soft

monarch. The first indication of pleasure-loving is usually the first death-knell of an Afghan King.

Afghanistan and the Great War

Then came the Great European War—that frightful interregnum which proved the grit of nations; but this fact may have been lost in the maze of European excitement that the World War of 1914 tested matters so greatly in Afghanistan, that greater men than Amanullah's father would have sagged under it.

India's share in the prosecution of the War, let it be remembered, depended entirely on the Afghan attitude. If the Ameer's country was not to be relied upon, practically no Indian resources could be sent out of it. Habibullah not only indicated his unqualified neutrality, but agreed to postpone the receiving of all annual grants during the War, and he actually thwarted the designs of certain frontier clans who wished to invade India.

And this he did in the name of solemn pledges of friendship between his country and Great Britain. I will not own anything less than the tribute that that behaviour of Amanullah's father saved India for England: and honest students of contemporary history cannot deny it. Note what he had to contend with. Without exception the tribesmen on the Indian side deserted the British regiments as a protest against England's declaration of war on Turkey, the seat of the Head of the Faithful. In October of 1915, a Turko-German Mission arrived in Kabul under Captain Von Hertig, with Captain Niedermeyer, Kasim Bey, and others, to persuade the Afghan King to cement a German-Afghan treaty. The entire Afghan Court supported it, the Ameer being in the majority of one. And Amanullah's father carried the day.

After weeks of dilly-dally and childish bargaining, the Ameer agreed to a preposterous treaty with the Turko-

German Mission, the conditions being almost ludicrous, such as twenty million pounds in gold, fifty thousand pieces of artillery, one hundred thousand rifles, an enormous amount of ammunition, and such other items which the combined resources of the Central Powers could not have mustered. The point, however, was to show that he did not wish to throw out the treaty—although the terms were plain enough indication of an eye-wash—and, meantime, Amanullah's father, one dark night, called the Moslem representative of the British at Kabul and exhorted him to communicate his message in utmost secrecy, more or less in the following terms: "Tell your Government that I am their loyal friend. They ought to believe in me; and if in any of my actions or utterances they see anything contrary to this idea, tell them that that is being done on purpose. My position is very delicate."

The message was sent to Simla, and it gave satisfaction there; but it was not as secret as Habibullah wished it to remain, for at least two more people knew of it besides the Ameer and the British—and those two people were to figure largely in events which followed, for they had now had a peep into the heart of their monarch, who was marching so radically opposed to the popular sentiments of his people. Habibullah thenceforward was a marked man, one in whom the nation had no confidence.

Might I hazard the conjecture that, beside being true to friends in their hour of trial—which is enjoined upon the faithful by Islam—there might have been another wisdom which guided the Ameer in that direction. He had no idea of an expansionist, of invading India merely for the sake of adding a portion of that country into his dominions; but rather a modest and legitimate desire to retain what was his birthright; and a secret engagement is said to have been entered upon by which the eternal dispute about the three North-Eastern

Provinces of Roshan, Darwaz and Shignan were to be settled, that a large sum of money as a gift was to be made to him, and his independence was to be acknowledged by abolishing control over his foreign affairs. Every one of those conditions were agreed upon, even to the question of the above-named provinces.

A Secret Understanding

Regarding these provinces, a few details are pertinent here; also it must be noted that Czarist Russia was at that period of the War an ally of the British Government. The Afghans considered that the time had come to have the provinces definitely restored to them which were ceded to Imperialist Russia in 1895, and to which the Afghans had every right. The Ameer's people had lost these provinces in consequence of an agreement arrived at between England and Czarist Russia.

It cannot be overlooked that Russian diplomacy gained the advantage of British by a quibble. The boundary line fixed was to run from Sarikul or " Wood Lake " on the east, to the junction of Kokcha River with the Oxus. Badakshan, with its dependent district Wakhan, was included within Afghanistan. But the understanding was vague. Difficulties did not arise until the time when Abdur Rahman was rearranging his kingdom, which had been disintegrated during the time of Sher Ali and Dost Mohamed. In 1893 Abdur Rahman took possession of Roshan and Shignan, and this was regarded by the Russian Government as an infringement of the treaty of 1873. Earl Granville was appealed to and replied to Russia that he could not ask the Ameer to withdraw his forces from the two provinces he claimed without proper inquiry being made, and proposed that a joint commission should be appointed at once to inquire into the matter on the spot.

This was agreed to, but before the commission arrived

a dispute arose between the Russian outposts and the commander of the Afghan forces in Roshan. A Russian officer, adopting familiar Russian tactics, refused to await the decision of the Boundary Commission. He advanced with a detachment of Cossacks to the Afghan general's tent and demanded immediate evacuation by the Ameer's soldiers. A hot conversation ensued and the Russian officer, losing his temper, slapped the Afghan general on the face, with the result that a free fight took place and men were killed on both sides.

This incident was quite in accordance with what had happened time and again in Central Asia. Russian officers who succeeded, as did this officer, in stealing a few miles of territory by means of sharp practices, were rewarded; if they failed they were punished. They undoubtedly acted upon instructions received from their superiors. Russian diplomacy has always argued that the end justifies the means, however dishonourable the means may be.

The Boundary Commission gave its decision in favour of Russia. It has to be recognised, however, that this decision was based on Russian geographical information. Otherwise the British representatives could never have consented to allow only about sixteen miles of neutral territory to form a buffer between the Russian Empire and the north of India.

The stream issuing from Lake Victoria and falling into the Oxus was taken as the boundary. But the dispute has always been—and it is a most vital point—whether the Panja River or the Aksu Murghab River is the parent "trunk" of the Oxus. The Boundary Commission of 1895 decided (against the views of not a few authorities in Great Britain) that the Panja was the parent river, and that decision determined the fate of Shignan and Roshan. There are very strong arguments in favour of the other view that the Murghab is

the parent of the Oxus, and the Panja merely a tributary.

(1) The name Oxus, by which the greater river has been known since the days of Alexander the Great, is a corruption of the Turkish word "Ak-su," meaning "white water." The Murghab is known by this name in its upper reaches.

(2) The entire length of the Oxus-Murghab-Bartang is greater than that of the Panja. From "Wood Lake" the Aksu Murghab, rising at Istigh, passes through the valleys of Tashkurghan, where it takes the name of Aksu. It is 250 miles long, while the Panja is 200 miles.

(3) It receives a much greater number of tributaries than does the Panja.

(4) In 1884, at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Lepel Griffin, whose name is closely associated with many Afghan problems, declared that geographically Shignan and Roshan belonged to Badakshan. "Those wild and isolated regions," he added, "with a very sparse population, and yielding no revenue, might appear to many Englishmen to be of little political importance, but they command some of the easiest passes into India." Sir Henry Rawlinson also favoured the Afghan claim, and held that as the Oxus was to be considered as the boundary, the Murghab should be regarded as the parent river.

These and other proofs were given, and thus the secret agreement, as a reward of Amanullah's father, was definitely settled. But just as soon as there appeared a drift in the tide of the World War, the Afghan nationalists began to think that their ruler had made a bad bargain, for little or no mention was now made of the rightful claims, and the question of reward lagged behind. There were too many questions of a European interest which had to be settled first, but the Afghan nationalist became restive. They recollected what

Ameer Shair Ali had said that, " Friendship with the Ferangee is written on ice."

A rude awakening, and the end

Ameer Habibullah had a rude awakening. He could not convince the opponents of his pacific policy that the agreement was sure to be honoured; for the whole state of affairs seemed altered. Czarist Russia disappeared, many more matters awaited the attention of the Allies than the side-show of Afghanistan; the entire Moslem world was convulsed with the treatment which Turkey was then receiving. Everything went out of his control. *Sirajal Akhbar*, a Persian newspaper, now under the editorship of Amanullah's father-in-law, made no pretence of its sentiments towards the Anglo-Afghan dealings. The Ameer vainly endeavoured to suppress it, but the " tongue of the nation," as the journal was called, could not be silenced. Secret societies of Mashroota (Reforms) were more active than ever, but the ruler remained adamant, his one hope glowing steadfastly—that of having the agreement fulfilled with his neighbours.

Then came the dawn of real political agitation. Hundreds of unsigned letters began to pour into the Court, exhorting the Ameer to reduce his despotism, to assert himself as an independent monarch. On the anniversary of his birthday at the end of 1918, when he was driving through the illuminated bazaars in his state carriage, in the Shore Bazaar a bullet just missed him. The smouldering embers waited for a breath of air to fan them into widespread flames of revolution. And then the end drew nigh.

It was his custom to go to Noor Pass in the mid-winter for a shoot. He was passing through Kullah Ghos Pass when he espied a beautiful mountain burn, and his camp was pitched there. There he enjoyed a day's



BACHA SAQUO, THE ROBBER, ADDRESSING HIS FOLLOWERS AT KABUL

fishing; and then slept in his camp in the lap of Lughman Province near Jalalabad, the capital city of his Eastern Province. But he slept never to arise alive. His sleeping chamber was well guarded by his devoted men—but who can guard against the hand of death ? Between the hours of two and three in the night, the assassin crept into the bed-chamber of the father of Amanullah, there was the report of a revolver shot, feet hurried past, more shots were fired, guards raised the alarm; but the deed was done. The Ameer was shot dead; a bullet had entered his left temple. " From Him we come and to Him we depart." The actual happening was on the night of February 19th to 20th, 1919; and although there can be no doubt about the crime being dastardly, nevertheless the Young Afghan Party considered it a just punishment for a King who consistently went against their national aspiration.

The scenes that marked the days that followed beggar description. Matters moved in rapid succession. At Jalalabad the assassinated Ameer's younger brother, Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, proclaimed himself the ruler, because the heir, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, waived his claim against his uncle.

Meantime, Amanullah Khan, the third son of his father, was acting as the Governor of Kabul—a key position of the State—and it just so happened that Sirdar Hidayatullah Khan, the second son of the murdered ruler, was on his way to take charge of the Kabul Governorship from Amanullah when his motor-car broke down on the way, before Amanullah, hearing the news, called a giant military parade at the capital.

With tear-dimmed eyes he narrated the sad news to his troops. His father had been done to death by a coward; it was a great grief to them, especially as he loved his father above everything. Before ever the murderer of his beloved father was found and tried, he

continued, his uncle had proclaimed himself as a king. Was it right, he asked? Was it true to the Afghan traditions, notably when the heir to the throne, his own brother, still lived, and had desire to rule? He unsheathed his sword amidst tears and pronounced that not till the murderer of his father was brought to book would he sheath it. What was the verdict of his nation —a nation the slave of which he was? "What is that nation to decree? What is the pronouncement of his gallant soldiers," he asked, sobbingly.

"Thy father was our benefactor, our lord," they echoed like one man; "like thee, we shall fight to avenge this wrong. Thy honour is our honour, oh, our beloved Prince; nay," they said, "you are now our King."

Amanullah jumped to the opportunity, and was crowned King of the Afghans precisely eight days after the assassination of his father.

By his royal command, on February 28th, 1919, he increased the pay of the soldiers to twenty rupees, promised the nation an unqualified national freedom, and to bring the murderer of his father to justice. Orders were immediately dispatched to Jalalabad, where Sirdars Nasrullah Khan and Inayatullah Khan and Mohamed Nadir Khan were arrested, and, after being brought to Kabul, were put under surveillance. A trial ensued, and a Colonel Mohamed Raza having been found guilty was executed, after which Sirdars Inayatullah and Mohamed Nadir Shah (the same H.M. Mohamed Nadir Shah who has lived to be the King of Independent Afghanistan and was Afghan Commander-in-Chief then) were released; but Sirdar Nasrullah Khan died in prison.

And so a new era dawned upon Afghanistan, in which Amanullah Khan preferred to play a lone hand, and with some extraordinary brilliance, at the start-off.

THE THIRD AFGHAN WAR

CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD AFGHAN WAR

No sooner had Amanullah ascended the throne than his difficulties commenced. There was a very considerable uneasiness amongst his people, and his statesmanship was immediately put to the test, inasmuch as he was called upon to secure his position at home whilst, whether by accident or design, he was also entangled in a war with the British Government.

It was patent to everyone at Kabul that Amanullah was not the rightful heir, not only because he was the third son of his father, but also that never during the lifetime of his assassinated father was he made officially or unofficially a claimant to the throne: although it should be remembered that Ulya Hazrat, his mother, was both a first queen and a descendant of the well-known Barakzai clan, which naturally had secured for him a place of greater consideration amongst princes than he would otherwise have had.

Born in 1890, and thus only two years younger than his elder brother, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, the heir apparent, Amanullah was regarded by all who came in close contact with him as " one who will be something one day." The Afghan mind is very receptive of such auto-suggestions. He had, therefore, been in charge of various branches of public administration, and, as has been mentioned before, was Governor of the Kabul Province at the time of his father's assassination. In passing, it should also be noted that the influence which

Sirdar Mahmood Tarzi—an Afghan returned exile from Syria—exercised at the Court of Kabul was then at about its zenith: which incidentally was exerted on behalf of Amanullah, because Sirdar Mahmood Tarzi is the father of ex-Queen Suraya.

It is, therefore, not difficult to gauge the seriousness of Afghan domestic policies when, on February 28th, 1919, Amanullah was proclaimed King at Kabul. His father-in-law was at once raised to the dignity of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mahmud Sami, the discreetly much-hated Turkish officer, became one of the leading military advisers of the Government; Sirdar Mohamed Nadir Khan, the former Commander-in-Chief (His Majesty Nadir Shah, the present monarch), although released from surveillance, was nevertheless without an appointment and very much under a cloud. The members of his family who had served Afghanistan all their lives were not *persona grata* with the young ruler; and the new Syrian-cum-Turkish-cum-Court hangers-on were now the favourites of a new régime.

The court intrigue, the reshuffling of the departments, the discrediting of the former important nobles, the imprisoning of Sirdars Nasrullah Khan, Inayatullah Khan and Mohamed Nadir Khan, the sudden growth of a party of upstarts around Amanullah; and over it all the spectre of an armed revolt against the new King, served to produce grave potentialities at Kabul. This, notwithstanding, Amanullah had come to stay. The one thing which could vindicate his position in the eyes of his countrymen appeared to him to harp upon the public sentiment. He was already in possession of a large amount of hoarded gold, so, given the support of the people in their craving for a political independence, and an increase in the salary of his soldiers, he could conceive nothing to destroy his chances as an undisputed monarch of an independent God-Gifted Kingdom of Afghanistan.

This plan he proceeded to put into execution with the deliberation and skill which the affair demanded.

His very first act upon ascending the throne was to issue a royal proclamation to his people, the translation of which, owing to its great importance, must be given here in full:

" In the name of God, most merciful and compassionate.

" O high-minded nation!

" O courageous army!

" This weak creature of the Creator of the Universe, viz. your Ameer, Ameer Amanullah, gives you joyful tidings that, thank God—again thank God—the Government of this great nation of ours and the sacred soil of our beloved country have in a very admirable way remained peaceful and safe from the horrors of such a disturbance as was calculated to make our enemies—near and far—happy and joyful and our friends much concerned. And this by the grace of God.

" Listen, the facts are as follows:

" You have already been informed by proclamations, *firmans* and notices, of the details of what has happened.

" The happy news now is this. The bold and courageous army of our Government at Jalalabad displayed the greatest sense of honour and courage in the discharge of all their obligations. On Thursday the Jamadi-ul-Awal 25th, 1337 Hijra (February 27th, 1919), all the officers and soldiers who had accompanied His late Majesty, my father, the martyr, assembled on the parade ground of the cantonment at Jalalabad, swore allegiance to me with the band playing, a salute of guns and great rejoicings. Thereafter they arrested and imprisoned all persons who were entrusted with the safeguarding of His late Majesty and who were on special duty in the Royal bedroom at the time of the assassination and demanded their being

called to account and punished by my uncle, who, without any religious or worldly right, had acted as usurper and declared himself as Ameer. Since no false claimant can establish his illegal claim, my uncle, who had no right, voluntarily abdicated the Ameership and recognised me as Ameer. The deeds of his allegiance and those of my brothers, Sirdars Inayatullah Khan and Hayatullah Khan and other members of the Royal family have been received by me. Copies of these are herewith sent for your perusal and information.

" O high-minded nation of Afghanistan! Let us offer thousands of thanks and praises most humbly to the imperishable God of the Earth and Heavens with our burning hearts and bleeding eyes that He has saved our sublime Government from the horrors of commotion and confusion and has inspired our Islamic Government with more strength, power and freedom. Please do not for a moment think that this King of yours expresses his thankfulness for his success in securing the throne. No, I express my thankfulness to God for safeguarding peace and prosperity of yourselves, my beloved nation, for saving the Muslims of the great nation of my beloved country Afghanistan at these perilous and hazardous times from various troubles and misfortunes and their painful consequences and for giving us a new lease of life.

" O courageous army of the Government of Afghanistan! I offer thousands of thanks and endless praise to God, the Most Holy—Glory be to Him—that your soul-consuming bullets and your heart-piercing steel spearheads which were kept ready for the protection of the honour of the faith and nation of our country have by the grace of God been prevented from being used for our self-destruction and against each other. Understand it well and carefully realise that this is due to the special favour and mercy of God Almighty and the spiritual



EX-KING AMANULLAH ADDRESSING HIS PEOPLE FROM THE PULPIT IN THE YEARLY PRAYER AT KABUL EDGAH MOSQUE

blessings of the Prophet which have been showered on our Government and nation. It is the eternal will of the unchangeable Creator—Exalted be His Glory—that all hardship and oppression may be removed from the heads of your nation; and that Afghanistan may be protected from the mischief of enemies of the faith and the country.

"O nation with a nice sense of honour.

"O brave army.

"While my great nation were putting the Crown of the Kingdom on my head, I declared to you with a loud voice that I would accept the Crown and throne only on the condition that you should all co-operate with me in my thoughts and ideas. These I explained to you at the time and I repeat here a summary thereof:

"1. *Firstly* that the Government of Afghanistan should be internally and externally independent and free, that is to say, that all rights of Government that are possessed by other independent Powers of the world should be possessed in their entirety by Afghanistan.

"2. *Secondly* that you should unite with me with all your force in avenging the unlawful assassination of my late father, the martyr, who was spiritually a father to all of you.

"3. *Thirdly* that the nation should be free, that is to say, that no individual should be oppressed and subjected to any high-handedness or tyranny by any other individual. Of course obedience to the sacred law of Mohammed and civil and military laws is looked upon as a glorious honour for which we, the great nation of Afghanistan, are by disposition and nature well known.

"I would not accept your Crown except on these conditions. All of you, members of the high-minded strong nation, accepted these conditions with enthusiasm and acclamation, and I also put that great supreme Crown on my head with extreme honour and with

determined resolution and purpose, thus putting my head under the heavy weight of '*imamat* and *amarat*' (religious leadership and rulership). I hope that you, my faithful, prudent and high-minded nation, will pray to the Creator of the Earth and the Heavens to favour me with strength to be successful in my undertaking and in doing all that may be necessary for your welfare and prosperity; and that you will co-operate with me manfully in the execution of my thoughts and ideas. O nation! at present I abolish at the outset the system of '*begar*' (impressed labour) in the country. Henceforward no labour will be impressed and not a single individual will be employed by force from among you on making roads, working on public works, tree-cutting, etc., and by the grace of God our sublime Government will adopt such measures of reform as may prove serviceable and useful to the country and nation so that the Government and nation of Afghanistan may make a name and gain great renown in the civilised world and take its proper place among the civilised Powers of the world.

" For the rest I pray to God for His favours and mercy and seek His help for the welfare and prosperity of you Muslims and all mankind. From God I seek guidance and the completion of my wishes."

(*Seal of Ameer Amanullah.*)

From the above, it is evident that he had his fingers on the pulse of his people, in declaring that Afghanistan under him should be internally and externally independent and free—implying thereby that he would not in future tolerate any interference and control on the part of Great Britain over Afghan foreign affairs, as did his predecessors. He could not have touched a more vital chord in the Afghan heart: for, without an exception, this control of Afghan affairs by England was deeply resented by every Afghan. I am not in the least un-

certain that this point contributed very considerably to the deserved unpopularity of the assassinated Ameer Habibullah Khan: no Afghan worthy of his proud traditions ought ever to have tolerated it; and thus that appeal of ex-King Amanullah acted like magic. People flocked to him lovingly. He was a national hero; his was now to command. An increase in the pay of the soldiers did the rest.

Nor was Amanullah idle in other respects. He knew the power of propaganda; and so it was made known that he was greatly concerned regarding the religious welfare of his people. This very naturally won the support of the clergy of the country in his favour, which was all the more important for the fact that his rival, Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, was greatly respected by all sections of ecclesiasts of the Eastern Province of Jalalabad; and it was distinctly indicated that a new Ameer was to show greater love of religion, if he were to outclass his rival in that regard. To bring this argument home, the financial aid of the State towards the upkeep of the religious institutions, as well as the annual allowances of mullahs, were appreciably increased.

A step further, too, did Amanullah go, for he professed a deep interest in pan-Islamic affairs: even in pan-Asian concerns. He sympathised with the Indian aspirations; he was profoundly moved by the anxiety of Islamic people in Arabia, in Turkey, and elsewhere. This spectacular start of his régime would have silenced his opponents, had the question of the validity of his accession to the throne not required a speedy proof. To this last, he now addressed himself.

To the Viceroy of India he dispatched a letter, informing him of the death of his father, and offering to remain friendly, like the late Ameer—but with this difference, that he emphasised the fact that Afghanistan was independent. The letter is of all importance in

relation to what followed later. It was sent on March 3rd, 1919, only three days after his accession, and the date of the letter should be remembered. Freely translated, it runs:

After compliments. "I am desirous of informing my friend, His Excellency the Viceroy of the great and mighty British Government in the Indian Empire, with much despair and regret, of the particulars of a crime full of poignant grief, namely the crime of the unjust and unlawful assassination of my late father, His Majesty Siraj-ul-Millat-wad-din Ameer Habibullah Khan, King of the Government of Afghanistan, who was killed by a pistol shot at 3 a.m. in his royal bed on Thursday, the Jamadi-ul-Awal 18th, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to February 20th, 1919, during his stay at a place called Kalla Gosh in his royal dominions, by the hand of a treacherous perfidious traitor. I have no doubt that Your Excellency, my friend, will be much touched by the news of this painful event, for the observance of all the conditions of neutrality and the upright conduct and friendly relations displayed during the past and present by His Majesty my late father, the martyr, towards my esteemed friend's mighty Government, were clearly proved and require no mention. I, Your Excellency's friend, had been appointed by order and command of His late Majesty, my assassinated pious father, as his plenipotentiary in the capital of Kabul, and consider myself in every way his heir and successor as Amir and the rightful caller to account and avenger at this time of my father's blood. The people and populace of the capital of Kabul and its surroundings, Saiyads, Ulemas, military and civil classes, traders, artisans, Mohammedan and Hindu subjects of Afghanistan itself, as well as all foreign subjects who were in the capital, unanimously and unitedly, with great enthusiasm and

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of their own free will and consent, swore allegiance to me, your friend; and putting my trust in God I placed on my head the crown of the Ameership of my Government of Afghanistan in the capital of Kabul amid the loud acclamations of the people and troops. And this by the grace of God. Later on our Government Armies in camp at Jalalabad also took their stand on the path of Right, which was wholly on our side, and proved their fidelity and loyalty by deposing and divesting of office my uncle Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, who had as usurper declared himself Ameer without any right at Jalalabad, and by submitting to me their oaths of allegiance. Thereupon my uncle Sirdar Nasrullah Khan abdicated the throne of the kingdom, and my brothers Sirdars Inayatullah Khan and Hayatullah Khan and other members of the Royal family, who had sworn allegiance to him, considered that allegiance illegal and submitted their oaths of allegiance to me at Kabul and acknowledged and recognised my succession as Ameer and King. Therefore relying upon the friendship and sympathy that exist and will continue to exist between us, I have considered it necessary to do myself the great honour of informing my friend.

" Nor let this remain unknown to that friend that our independent and free Government of Afghanistan considers itself ready and prepared at every time and season to conclude, with due regard to every consideration for the requirements of friendship and the like, such agreements and treaties with the mighty Government of England as may be useful and serviceable in the way of commercial gains and advantages to our Government and yours.

" For the rest kindly accept considerations of my friendly esteem."

Usual conclusion.

On the receipt of this letter at the Government of India headquarters, two views are said to have been taken. The one section were of opinion that the letter was couched in a friendly tone, and, avoiding its implications, a suitable reply in the same friendly manner might be sent. The other held that the fact of the Ameer having expressly adopted the phraseology of an independent monarch was tantamount to his desire to remove British control from Kabul affairs. Both views were correct.

Acting on the assumption that an early reply amounted to the recognition of Amanullah as an independent monarch, no reply was sent to the Ameer's letter. Not even an acknowledgment was received by Kabul. I have debated this question with such important persons as the late Mr. Edwin Montagu (the then Secretary of State for India) and Sir Hamilton Grant (the then Foreign Secretary at Simla), and both were equally regretful of the incalculable harm which the attitude of not replying to Amanullah's perfectly friendly letter did to the future relations of the country: indeed, I am sure that the Third Afghan War would have been avoided if the powers that be had not departed from their traditional courteous attitude. Surely a reply to even an unimportant letter is one of those commonplace courtesies which one expects from another, let alone the official communication of a friendly and neighbouring ruler, at the back of whom in 1919 stood the entire Afghan nation.

I am assured that Sir Hamilton Grant repeatedly insisted upon a reply being sent; and within a few days of the writing of these words he vouched for the correctness of the view, that in this respect quite an uncalled-for slight was placed upon the Afghans. I feel certain, too, from information in my possession that, had Sir Hamilton Grant been at Simla all along, during the period of which I am now speaking, the Anglo-Afghan friendship

would not have been disturbed. As it is, he was victimised by his people for giving to Afghans what belonged to the Afghans by right, for, when the Treaty of Rawalpindi was signed, and the Afghan independence was acknowledged, the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India was accused of having displayed a weak policy: " But there is only one policy," remarked Sir Hamilton Grant to me when questioned on the point; " there is no weak or strong policy, there is only one policy and that is the just and right policy." And that policy, I am happy to say, he courageously exhibited at that conference of Amanullah's Delegation, in spite of bewailing dervishes. But of this conference, I shall have more to say at a later stage. Here only this much was thought necessary to show what price the Afghans placed on their independence, and spurred on Amanullah as their chief spokesman.

Causes of the Afghan War

The time is now opportune to examine the hard facts as they obtained in April 1919, and to refer back to the review whether Amanullah could have averted the Third Anglo-Afghan War: for it is said that he conceived of it as the only remedy to secure his position on the throne by thus placating public opinion. What are the facts ?

The heart of Afghanistan was undisputably in his possession, inasmuch as the entire control of the State Treasury was in his command—a matter of considerable significance in Afghanistan. By his raising the salary of his army he had gained their adhesion to such a degree that his soldiers rode to Jalalabad and demanded the surrender of their own Commander-in-Chief (Mohamed Nadir Khan), Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, and the real heir to the throne (Inayatullah Khan), whom they brought as prisoners to Kabul. The whole opposition, if there

were any, in the Eastern Province at Jalalabad was crushed by his single strategy. To the nation he had proclaimed himself an independent political existence: and yet he is alleged "to have been born with the intention of invading India." These are the late Mr. Montagu's own words to me in an interview.

Even the official account of the Third Afghan War, compiled by the General Staff Branch at the Army Headquarters of India, speaks of the existence of the so-called War Party, composed, amongst others, of Amanullah, Nasrullah and Nadir Khan. In the light of actual facts, the inference is strange, because, if ever there was a pact for war between these three, how did it arise that when the actual point of war arose Nasrullah dissented, and Nadir Khan could be brought into it only when appealed to in the name of the nation ?

Further proof, too, of Amanullah's prearranged ideas in this regard is wanted to substantiate the above statement, because when Amanullah did actually assume power, he did not act in a friendly way towards his two "confederates," but had them brought to the capital as prisoners. Furthermore, if such a war were premeditated, and three such notable persons were actively engaged "for years" in hastening its date, it is justifiable, knowing the great ambition of Amanullah, to suppose that at such conferences Amanullah's candidature as a future King was agreed to. That Nasrullah Khan had himself proclaimed King, and Sirdar Nadir Khan accepted him as such, belies the above contention.

Be that as it may, one thing is certain: that the attitude of the Government of India in not acknowledging his letter for nearly six weeks—and then avoiding the points at issue—compelled Amanullah into disturbing an Anglo-Afghan system of good-neighbourliness which had existed for close upon a century. Some of his councillors advised



ALA HUZRAT H.M. MOHAMED NADIR SHAH
GHAZI, THE PRESENT MONARCH OF THE
INDEPENDENT KINGDOM OF AFGHANISTAN

him against the war, others sought to prove that thus alone could he secure the independence of his people, since the British delay in replying to the note to them appeared as a sign that England still desired to retain the Afghan foreign affairs under her control. The Viceroy's letter, dated April 15th, which stated that perhaps the commercial requirements of Afghanistan called for some agreement with the British Government, of course, left no one in doubt about it. From which the evading of the question of Afghan independence was all but too thinly veiled.

Matters, however, moved fast at Kabul; for, almost hourly the colour of the Afghan Court began to change from that of peace to that of war. Some were of opinion that out of gratitude for the valuable services of Ameer Habibullah Khan during the War, the British would have agreed to abandon their control from the Afghan foreign affairs, if only Amanullah had persisted, and had continued to exchange notes with the Viceroy: others reminded him that it was Lord Curzon who is reported to have said: "Curzon holds what Curzon has," and, as the author of that slogan was at the helm of affairs then in London, so from that quarter Amanullah should expect little. Such protracted negotiations, too, required much patience and no inconsiderable amount of diplomatic experience, for which Amanullah could not wait. He was pushed to redeem the mandate which the nation had given him.

The easiest way out, therefore, lay in the direction of a determined action of some sort. Propaganda was set in motion amongst the people—propaganda not necessarily of war, but of the fact that Amanullah was the first man who proclaimed the independence of Afghanistan, and which he meant to make into practical reality even by a display of force, if necessary. To prove this, a general mobilising of Afghan troops was ordered, for no

one in Afghanistan believes empty words in speeches till the actual manifestation of them is exhibited. This point of Afghan mentality is often misunderstood by foreign observers.

But whereas thus far it may be regarded as a political exigency, the cardinal omission was to overemphasise that military display to the extent of a war-preparedness. Time and again Amanullah was warned of this by more experienced men in his country, but court hangers-on would not allow him to have a mind of his own; at other times, his impatience itself would not tolerate listening to the riper advice of the councillors of his father's time. The result of it was that an extraordinary conflict of ideas arose at the Afghan Court between March 28th and April 10th; everybody seemed to be working at cross purposes.

Meantime, Sipah Salar Selah Mohamed Khan left for Jalalabad to inspect the Eastern frontier; a tribal chieftain caused a few coolies at the Indian Frontier to be killed, and alleged that he acted on the advice of the Afghans; also some Afghan soldiers, mistaking the frontier post, are said to have exceeded their limits. The Afghan envoy was still at the Court of the Viceroy, whilst the British representative, Hafiz Saifullah Khan, was at Kabul when the Third Anglo-Afghan War broke out on May 6th, 1919.

Nor is there any doubt of the fact that Amanullah was deceived by the Indians, especially the revolutionary party there, who seem to have convinced the Afghan ruler's greenhorn advisers that the whole of India was ablaze with revolution, which would materially assist the Kabulis. As to in what direction they could help was not made clear. Withal, the situation in India at the time was decidedly grave. The official British account details it correctly when it says that along the main railway line from Bombay to Peshawar, violent out-

breaks occurred during the first half of April 1919. Excited mobs, utterly ignorant of what they were fighting for, but guided by extremist leaders, destroyed railway stations, damaged the permanent way and set fire to property. Between Bombay and Delhi there was serious rioting at Ahmedabad. There were disturbances at Delhi itself. On the two main lines from Delhi to Lahore there were more serious outbreaks at Amritsar and Kasur respectively. At Lahore itself, the mob came into conflict with the armed police, and matters appeared so grave that martial law was proclaimed. Further north, the railway station and mission church at Gujranwala were burned, and the important railway station at Wazirabad was attacked by large bands of rioters. Prompt military measures were taken at each place, and the rioters were cowed by heavy casualties, especially at Amritsar.

The precipitate action of Amanullah in sending all the best-trained troops, on the training of which General Sirdar Mohamed Nadir Khan had given many years of active military life, to the Khyber, and the rest towards Kandahar, left the former Commander-in-Chief in command of a very small number of troops, and ill-supplied with ammunition. So the war waged fast and furiously on three fronts, namely, Khyber, Khost and Kandahar. The one at Khost, being the least prepared, was placed under the leadership of Sirdar Nadir Khan, who was now prevailed upon by Amanullah pointing out the danger to the Afghan national cause, and conveniently forgetting that, barely a month ago, he had him brought in disgrace to Kabul. Yet Mohamed Nadir Khan was a big enough patriot to forgive and forget it all, in the face of a stern duty.

On the morning of May 8th, the first attack of the war was made at Landi Khana, whereby the Afghan guards had to retire. The British aeroplanes bombed the

Afghan territory at Dakka, although the Afghans still held western positions near Khar Ghali. But it was impossible that, with all this trouble around them, the frontier tribesmen could sit idle and not take part in the proceedings; for, although the Viceroy reported to London that he had instructed the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier to endeavour to secure the tribesmen's adhesion against the Afghans, and "to spend money without stint to achieve this," the Pathans could not longer sit on the fence. On May 11th a large lushkar at Chura sent an ultimatum to the British authorities, and an anti-British spirit in the villages surrounding Peshawar spread like wildfire.

The next few days were of fierce fighting. The Afghans delivered attacks on May 16th from west and south-west with little success. There was sniping during the whole night, and the British casualties amounted to 130 men. The Afghans were attacked the next day by the 1st British Brigade on the western ridge of Dakka. In the morning, the 1st Division was sent to Dakka Headquarters, 3rd Brigade, with one machine-gun company and two battalions, one section 4.5-inch howitzers and one section of 3.7-inch howitzers. The troops of Amanullah engaged on the Dakka front under Sipah Salar Selah Mohamed Khan were: 14 Battalions of Infantry, 1 Brigade of Pioneers, one and a half regiments of Cavalry and 48 guns; as opposed to the British forces amounting to 22 Battalions of Infantry, 1 Battalion of Pioneers, 6 Regiments of Cavalry and 104 machine guns, 2 Field Troops Sappers and Miners, 66 guns and 4 Field Companies Sappers and Miners. Besides this striking force, a smaller force for the internal security of Rawalpindi, Peshawar and the Khyber area was retained. Not only on account of a superior force at their disposal, but by dint of more ordered organisation, the British completely broke the Khyber section of the

Afghan defence, and occupied the Afghan territory of Dakka some thirty miles west of Ali Musjid.

Not only Selah Mohamed Khan's section of the northern command proved disastrous for the Afghan arms, and the cohesion of his units greatly disturbed, but aerial bombing operations were carried on by the British up to Jalalabad and even to Kabul. The Sipah Salar Selah Mohamed Khan was seriously wounded during the operations, and was recalled to the capital.

But whereas adverse fate had fallen upon the Afghan army on the Khyber section, the two southern sections, namely those of Khost and Kandahar, under Sirdar Mohamed Nadir Shah and Abdul Qudas Khan respectively, were pushing forward into the British territory: notably the former achieved success, tribute for which was paid to him even by his adversaries in war.

As the spectacular success which Sirdar Mohamed Nadir Khan achieved in this campaign virtually saved the Afghans further reverses which would have occasioned grave concern about the Afghan independence, it is pertinent here to give a fuller account of his doings in the Khost area. His success was really a turning-point in the whole Afghan case, inasmuch as it was his investment of Thal which provided Amanullah with a trump card at the Rawalpindi Anglo-Afghan negotiations.

I will take the British official account of it, lest the purely Afghan version may appear exaggerated.

On May 23rd, Nadir Khan left Matun and marched down to the Kaitu River, says the official compilation of the General Staff Branch of Indian Army Headquarters. It was impossible to foretell the direction he would take, but his movement caused excitement among the Wazirs of the Tochi Agency. A column was sent from Dardoni on May 24th to Mohammed Khel, a distance of fourteen and a half miles, to reassure the militia in the posts west of that place and to overawe

the local inhabitants, who were beginning to give trouble. On the evening of that day, however, it was ascertained that Nadir Khan was directing his march on Spinwam, a militia post on the Kaitu where the road from Thal to Idak crosses that river. It was therefore decided to withdraw the garrison of Spinwam, and also that of Shewa, a post on the Kurram River, eight miles north-east of Spinwam, to Idak. To assist the retirement of these detachments, Colonel Ellwood assembled two squadrons of his regiment, the 31st Lancers, at Khajuri, and advanced across the Sheratulla plain on the morning of May 25th. The garrison of Shewa first retired on Spinwam, and then the combined force commenced its march of twenty-one miles on to Idak. Hardly had they left Spinwam than the Afghan regulars took possession of the fort. With them came large numbers of Wazirs who had joined Nadir Khan as soon as the latter had crossed our border. These Wazirs immediately took up the pursuit of the militia, and cut off one Indian officer and fifteen men, whom they made prisoners. They were unable to do further damage, and the party arrived at Idak on the evening of May 25th.

Whilst these posts were being evacuated, the officer commanding the column at Mohammed Khel had been ordered to bring in the garrisons of Spina Khaisora, Datta Khel and Tut Narai in the Upper Tochi, and to return to Dardoni. These posts were successfully evacuated and the stores in them which could not be carried away were burnt. Boya was handed over to an influential chief of the Daurs, a small tribe who live in the Tochi valley. This individual was either unable or unwilling to hold the fort, and it was looted and burnt by the local tribesmen. The column and the militia garrisons returned to Miran Shah and Dardoni about midnight. About 150 of the militia were found to have deserted during this retrograde movement. By now it was

realised that not only were the Tochi Wazirs hostile, but that the Wazirs in the North Waziristan Militia were thoroughly disaffected. It was found necessary to place 200 men of the 1/41st Dogras in Miran Shah fort to cope with the growing spirit of unrest. On May 26th these Wazirs broke into open mutiny, and, headed by Subadar Pat and Jemadar Tarin, they escaped from the fort by digging a hole through the wall to join their fellow tribesmen who were now in arms against us.

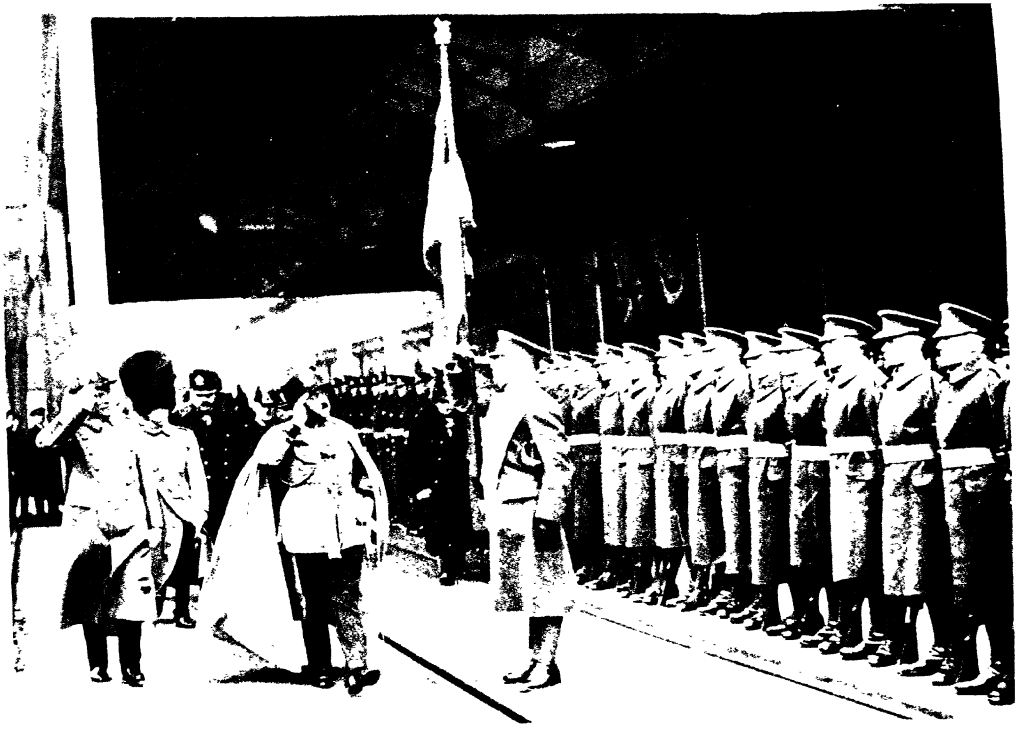
In Southern Waziristan, also, the militia posts were evacuated with even more disastrous results. Sirdar Shahwali Khan, the brother of Nadir Khan, was reported to be contemplating an invasion of the Wana plain from Urgun. It was decided that Wana and the Gomal posts should be evacuated before the events in the Tochi should become known. On May 26th arrangements were being made to leave Wana, when the Wazirs and Afridis seized the keep and turned on the officers and the men of the battalion who remained loyal. Major Russell made his way to Fort Sandeman with the remnant of his command after a running fight of over sixty miles with the mutineers and the local Wazirs. During this retirement he lost five officers killed and two wounded. A full account of these and subsequent occurrences in Waziristan are given in *Mahsud Operations*, 1919-20, and will not be dealt with in this book.

Hardly had the militia garrison been withdrawn from Spinwam than Nadir Khan appeared before that post with 3,000 Afghan infantry, two 10-c.m. Krupp field howitzers, seven 7.5-c.m. Krupp pack guns and a large force of tribesmen. He was now twenty miles distant from Thal, Bannu and Idak on the Tochi. The route over which he had advanced was an unexpected one, as it had been reported as being unfit for the passage of large bodies of troops. It was still uncertain as to the direction he would take, so a column consisting of two

companies 2/10th Jats, one squadron 31st Lancers, one section No. 33 Mountain Battery, and one section Trench howitzers from Bannu moved to Kurram Garhi, four miles north-west of Bannu, to guard the defile of the Kurram River. General Eustace, also on May 25th, sent the 1/151st Sikh Infantry, the 4/39th Garhwalis and one section of No. 23 Mountain Battery, followed on the 26th by No. 57 Company, 1st Sappers and Miners, to reinforce Thal.

That fort is situated on a plateau a mile broad between the Sangroba and Ishkalai Nalas. It is 100 feet above the Kurram River, which flows a mile to the west of the fort. Half a mile to the west is the large village of Thal, which contains 372 houses and which is inhabited by Bangash Pathans. To the north-west, beyond the Sangroba Nala, is the bold peak of Khadimakh, which rises 2,300 feet above the plateau. To the east the ground slopes gently upwards for twenty miles to the watershed between the Kurram and the Miranzai valleys. To the south of the Ishkalai Nala are a series of hills running east and west, which rise in height as they recede from Thal till they culminate in the fantastically shaped peaks of Kafir Kot. To the west of the Kurram is an isolated hill known as Khapianga, 800 feet above the river. The administered territory is here merely a slip five miles broad. The Zaimukht border runs north of Khadimakh, whilst to the south and south-west a line following the course of the Kurram river, to within half a mile of Thal village and then trending to the west, marks the limits of the Wazirs. Water was obtained from a well in the Sangroba Nala, 300 yards north-east of the fort, whence it was pumped up for the use of the troops and of the railway.

The Afghan headquarters were established at Yusaf Khel on the Kurram river, three miles north-west of Thal. Their artillery came into action on Khapianga



EX-KING AMANULLAH'S ENGLISH VISIT
THE RECEPTION AT DOVER

and at "Black Rock," a small conical hill near Yusaf Khel. From these places they opened fire on Thal fort at ranges of 3,500 and 5,500 yards respectively, and did much damage to the parapet and to the buildings in the fort. Several shells burst in the barrack used as a hospital. Communication trenches were dug inside the fort to keep down the number of casualties there. Thal village was occupied by parties of Afghan infantry, whilst bodies of tribesmen crossed the Kurram and seized the hills overlooking Mohammedzai, 3,500 yards south of the fort, and also the lower spurs of Khadimakh.

On May 28th, the fire of the 10-cm. howitzers became more accurate and intense. The petrol dump and the *bhoosa* stacks outside the fort and the rations in the railway station yard were set on fire, and the wireless station was hit and put out of action for a time. Our artillery were outranged by these howitzers and were unable to reach them. This was the only occasion during the campaign when the British were definitely inferior to the Afghans in artillery: continues the English account. An attempt was made to keep down the Afghan bombardment by two machines of the R.A.F., which bombed the enemy gun emplacements. This was effective for the time being, but the relief was temporary. At ten-thirty hours, Afghan regulars debouched from Thal village and made a half-hearted attack towards the fort. This was easily repulsed by the combined fire of guns, Lewis guns and rifles, and was not repeated.

On the night of May 28/29th, the Frontier Constabulary evacuated the militia post on the right bank of the Sangroba Nala which they were holding, and made off towards Hangu. This was occupied by the enemy, who were thus in a position to threaten the water supply. On the 29th, the garrison began to dig pits, which they lined with tarpaulins for the storage of water. Owing to the burning of the ration dumps, food began to run short,

so troops and animals were placed on half rations. During the night of May 29/30th, attacks were made on Piquet Mill, the spur to the south of the fort held by the 1/109th Infantry. The section of No. 28 Mountain Battery opened fire on the enemy, one gun using star shell and the other shrapnel. This combined with the rifle fire and the grenades of the piquets quickly drove the enemy back. Our losses were Lieutenant S. C. Scott and five men wounded.

On May 30th the aeroplanes were employed elsewhere and the Afghan artillery kept up a heavy fire all day. By this time they had conveyed a 7.5-cm. gun across the Kurram south of Thal, and were firing on our piquets from point 2931. Considerable damage was done to the parapet of the fort and to the gun emplacements. On the following day (31st) both sides were aware of the approach of the relieving column, which reached Thal on June 1st, and little activity was shown.

The news of Nadir Khan's invasion, and of his investment of Thal, put an end, for the time being, to the preparations which were being made for an advance on Jalalabad.

PROGRESS OF THE ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR

CHAPTER VIII

PROGRESS OF THE ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR

THE first indication of the fact that Amanullah might disappoint his best supporters in the long run was forthcoming when the Afghan Commander-in-Chief intimated the condition of a truce within ten days of the hostilities: he naturally spoke in the name of Amanullah. For the students of history this incident is important.

Note the utter confusion at Kabul. The three Afghan commanders, namely, Selah Mohamed Khan, Mohamed Nadir Khan and Abdul Qudas Khan were facing the British troops from north to south in the order in which they have been named. The new Commander-in-Chief, Selah Mohamed Khan, in his section received a reverse and, within ten days of the outbreak of the war, threw out feelers of peace; the other two Commanders not only were not beaten but had actually captured British positions and were continuing their advance much beyond the Afghan territory. Does this not show that the Army Council at Kabul, presided over by Amanullah himself, was utterly incapable of handling war tactics ? And the tragedy of the situation was that Amanullah did not consider it advisable to take the Afghan commanders into his confidence: for instance, in Firmans or Royal Letters, which he sent to General Sirdar Mohamed Nadir Khan, almost on the day on which his other Army Commander in the Khyber sought truce, Amanullah made not the slightest mention of it to Mohamed Nadir Khan: but indulged in a sort of

friendly complaint regarding Nadir Khan's attitude at Jalalabad on the assassination of his father.

In matters of diplomatic dealing, the same inadequate knowledge, coupled with cunning, was shown by his courtiers at Kabul, for, during this period, all the " old guards " having been out of favour, the King's advisers were recruited from the most inefficient and good-for-nothing lot: with the consequence, of course, that we had very tangled dealings with the Viceroy. It calls for a little explanation.

The British Agent was still at Kabul; the Afghan Envoy, one Abdur Rahman Khan, together with the Afghan Postmaster at Peshawar, still allowed to go in and out of the country into India; the tribal chiefs and priests were thoroughly on the war-path; the King carried on long communications with the Viceroy, and the war was on all the time. Within a very few days of the refusal of the British commandant to cease hostilities, another couple of Afghans arrived at Dakka—now in British hands—ostensibly charged by the King to open negotiations for peace; but their offers were also declined, owing to their not being in possession of proper credentials. And this was just the crux of the situation, for Amanullah was not capable of grappling with the awkward position of the State, and often resorted to antiquated methods of issuing orders verbally, and expected them to be regarded as binding, even upon foreign nations. There was another angle to it—he was too self-important; and, as often as not, considered it desirable to use intermediaries in negotiations, holding himself aloof, in high and mighty estimation of himself. That, unfortunately, has been the reason of his ultimate fall, and the ruination of his country through him. First of all, he would take nobody's advice, and when after a crash he was compelled to do so, then he would " cull the scraps of wisdom " from those who had none to give.

After the exchange of lengthy correspondence between Amanullah and the Viceroy, the matter at last came to a head, but the latter, in his communication of June 3rd, was adamant on the following points as the conditions of truce:

1. That you should at once withdraw all your troops from the frontier. No Afghan troops are to be located within twenty miles of the nearest British force.
2. That the British troops should remain where they now are in Afghan territory with freedom to continue such military preparations and precautions as may be deemed necessary. The troops will, however, take no offensive action whatever, so long as the terms of this armistice are observed by your side.
3. British aircraft will not bomb or machine-gun Afghan localities or forces so long as the armistice is observed, but they will have freedom of movement in the air to reconnoitre and observe positions of Afghan forces in order to ensure against any concentration or collection of Afghan troops or tribesmen in contravention of the armistice; further, that you undertake that your people will not fire upon or molest British aircraft and will return without delay, unhurt, British aircraft and airmen who may have been forced to land in Afghan limits, and to use your utmost endeavour to ensure the safety of any British airmen who may be forced to land in tribal territory.
4. That you should at once send urgent messages to the tribes both on your own side and on our side of the Durand frontier into whose limits your troops have advanced, or who have been excited by your agents and proclamations, stating that you have

> asked the Government of India for a cessation of hostilities, and that you will not countenance further aggressive action on their part against the British Government; if they take such action it will be at their own risk, and they will receive no support from you, and find no asylum in Afghanistan, from which they will be ejected if they come.

Within a week Amanullah wrote again more or less in the old strain, with the addition that he accepted the conditions, and appointed a Peace Delegation. The translation of the latter is illuminating:

" You have," it addresses the Viceroy, " by alluding to events mentioned in previous letters, pointed out our misunderstanding of the temper and power of the exalted British Government. My kind friend, I consider a repetition of matters previously discussed is only to prolong uselessly a subject which is far from the object in view. I refer to your expressions of certainty and to your eulogy of the unlimited resources of British Government, and to our hinting at the internal power of the sublime Government of Afghanistan, which, notwithstanding its defects of organisation, has repeatedly been a cause of destruction and ruin to foreign power on sacred soil, and to our alluding to the fact that, firstly, the Islamic Afghan nation really looks upon fighting with non-Muslim nations as a cause of revival of its existence and as a means of its awakening notwithstanding its terrible damages and the probability of numerous losses and injuries; secondly, that it is in the Muslim nature of Afghans to prefer visible death to subordination to a foreign power and to consider it as its perpetual life; and, thirdly, that the spirit of freedom and of natural individuality and national liberty, with its wonderful and surprising world-wide electric and magnetic power of inspiring peace, has



THE AFGHAN TOWER
OF VICTORY AT KABUL

caused the withered hearts of the depressed classes of humanity to expand and blossom in every part of the world, and has by an extraordinary force brought into being conferences loving peace and quality, and has nearly brought to its death-agony oppression and domination among different nations.

" We shall, therefore, leave these matters and turn to the real object in view, which is the conclusion of peace and cessation of hostilities between the exalted Governments of Afghanistan and Great Britain. Regarding this you have made certain impossible demands such as the removal of the Afghan troops to a distance of twenty miles from British troops and the free movement in the air of British aeroplanes over Afghan territory without any hindrance by the people, as well as an undertaking by the Afghan Government for the protection of aeroplanes and aircraft in their country. Your overlooking of points so manifest and apparent is a matter for surprise, for the only definition of the military forces of the sublime Afghan Government is that the military and civil forces of Afghanistan are identical. How, then, is it possible to move thousands and thousands of individuals and tribal people from their villages and winter camping grounds in places opposite British lines ? I overlook those matters also which are impossible to accomplish and devote attention to the possible and correct terms of armistice worthy of the dignity of honoured and exalted Governments. The essential object of the armistice is the suspension of hostilities by both sides for the discussion and settlement of peace. Nothing more than the cessation of hostilities and peace of mind which is its inevitable result are required. That has already taken place as communicated in my letter dated Shaban 27th, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to May 28th, 1919, to my honourable friend. The best way to secure a discussion of peace with due consideration to the honour

of both parties is that the troops of both Governments should remain in their present positions and enjoy mutual respect until the settlement of terms of peace. With regard to aeroplanes it is evident that their movement in the air in our exalted dominions is an illegal violation and interference, for the feelings of our nation who do not have aeroplanes are bitterly excited by seeing your aeroplanes. In every house and with every man are arms, rifles and ammunition, and it is impossible to restrain people even if we wish to do so. Moreover, it is possible, owing to a change in the attitude of friendship between the two Governments an ignorant, mischievous or designing person may fire at them, thus leading to a rupture in the friendship and the postponement of peace between the two exalted Governments, the consequences of which will not be advantageous but injurious to both Governments. In my former letter I mentioned Landi Kotal or Peshawar as the meeting-place of officers of both exalted Governments appointed for the conclusion of peace. Now you have in your present letter, for certain reasons, perhaps, fixed on Rawalpindi as a suitable place of meeting. We also, in order to secure your pleasure and to safeguard the dignity and honour of Illustrious British Government, agree with it. We have selected and appointed the following officers for the discussion and argument of the terms of peace and the establishment of friendship between the two exalted Governments. They will, please God, be ready to start for Rawalpindi on the Ramzan 28th, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to June 27th, 1919. I do not hesitate to mention here that we must not fail to keep in view the advantage of friendship and avoidance of hostilities between the exalted Governments of Afghanistan and Great Britain, particularly at a time when such critical circumstances have arisen in Asia and Europe for our old friend the British Government. Your Excellency will see a signal proof of my

good intentions in my receiving your terms of armistice in a reasonable manner. If Your Excellency will overlook the past you will see a bright future for both parties in the establishment of friendly relations between the two exalted Governments. Its advantageous results will be mentioned by our selected representatives in course of discussion and communication:

1. Our exalted and honoured brother, Ali Ahmad Khan, Commissary for Home Affairs, President of Peace Delegates.
2. Civil General Sirdar Muhammad Yunas Khan.
3. Ghullam Muhammad Khan, Commissary for Commerce.
4. Civil Colonel Abdul Aziz Khan, former Envoy of the Sublime Afghan Government at the Court of the Government of India.
5. Muhammad Rafiq Khan, Ameer's Ulmu Abilah, Superintendent of Correspondence.
6. Doctor Abdul Ghani Khan, Rais-idar-ul-Muwallafin, Chief of the Compilation Department.
7. Civil Colonel Diwan Niranjan Das, Sardaftar-i-wajuhat, Head of Tax Department.
8. Abdul Hadi Khan, Chief Clerk.
9. Civil Colonel Mirza Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Mir Munshi, Foreign Department.

"I hope Your Excellency will appoint the representatives of your Government for the management and settlement of the question by the time of the arrival of the said officers at Rawalpindi. For the rest, may the days of your honour and prosperity endure for ever. Dated Ramzan 12th, 1337 Hijra, corresponding to June 11th, 1919. (Signed) AMEER AMANULLAH."

Previous to writing this letter on June 11th, he had communicated with his only successful General, Mohammed Nadir Shah, regarding the terms; and had received

positive reply to say that the mere fact of a small aerial bombardment of Kabul by the British aeroplane, and the killing of a few horses in the Arg by bombs, should not frighten the Afghan King and his Court into suing for a dishonourable peace: and also the victorious General pointed out to Amanullah the great necessity of placing the entire case before the nation and seeking their judgment regarding all matters of the State. He rightly did not consider that Mahmood Sami—the Turkish military instructor—and Mahmood Shaghasi, even if they were the favourites of the King, were not the real representatives of the nation. But Amanullah was not the man to brook any interference with his mighty will.

The unfortunate fact was that rather than be frank in his statements, and have his will asserted by sheer force of character, even at the point of the sword, like his grandfather, he always resorted to intrigue and back-sliding tactics. Note the proof of this. On June 11th he wrote to the Viceroy practically accepting all conditions of a humiliating truce; and on the following day, when the matter was all cut and dried regarding sending an Afghan Peace Mission, he wrote to his General, Mohammed Nadir Khan, saying that he would not accept any conditions which ran counter to the national honour; and very conveniently put off the including of Nadir Khan in that Delegation: which speaks volumes with regard to the intrigue at his court, when he played one officer against the other, and was a prime mover in the great diplomatic game of political chess at Kabul, in which all the nobles of the former times were discredited and humiliated.

On July 25th the Afghan delegates arrived at Rawalpindi, during which time they were not permitted to mix with the people: and, despite the fact that the Chief Delegate protested regarding the restraints placed

upon their movements, and did not attend the Conference as a protest on the second day, it was pointed out that, although in quest of peace, nevertheless they were technically enemies; and would not be permitted to import any ideas of their ruler into India. From day to day the deliberations took place, and it was understood that Amanullah should be kept informed of all matters, both inside and outside the Conference.

To the latter kind of information Amanullah attached considerable importance, for he was always anxious to know how India or those who had their personal axe to grind were responding. True to his mentality he employed the cheap system of information, the purveyors of which were always the bazaar rummers—the meanest and the most insignificant persons. In his Firman No. 55, he wrote to Mohamed Nadir Khan during the Afghan War, that two motor drivers, one Sikh and the other a Moslem, were brought before him, from whom he received valuable information of the English in India. He informs the General that these two most reliable informers are appointed to convey messages and news to the members of the Afghan Delegation in India.

It requires but very little imagination to estimate the worthiness of Amanullah as a head of a State, when he prefers to base his actions on such uneducated and " poor " information as conveyed by men no higher in intelligence than mere motor drivers: and alas! in the hands of such a worthy person the destiny of a great nation reposed for a time. But this was the way of Amanullah; he always pinned his faith to the opinions of the baser sort of humanity. He was afraid of intelligent servants of the State: and not rising to their higher qualities and attainments, always suspected them, and intrigued against them: his pawn in the game, of course, being the same kind of ne'er-do-well birds of the like feather, who were past masters at intriguing. The best

tactics which always succeeded were that all intelligent men, as they were not understood, were stigmatised as spies of a foreign nation—especially that of the British; as we shall have cause to know later in the book. In doing so, another very important cause of the Court hangers-on was served, for by placing this odium of suspicion on intelligent men, the intriguers were safe in their high appointments.

In direct contrast to these intriguing ways of Amanullah, and his lack of capacity for organisation, let us note the wondrous system of the British Intelligence Service. Amanullah employed the mere motor drivers as his news-gatherers and informers, but how did the British method work ?

Before quoting the incident, it may be explained that the Anglo-Russian rivalry had assumed an unprecedented magnitude during the year 1919. Notably during the Anglo-Afghan War the feelings were very tense. The Bolshevik Information and other centres for Central Asia were situated at the time at Tashkend in Turkestan. It was a very closely guarded region: and it can be assumed that any communications that reached Tashkend on their way to Moscow from Afghanistan or India would be subject to the utmost secrecy, and the messages handled only by the most reliable agents of Moscow. But it was necessary for the British Government to know all that was passing between Russia and Afghanistan: and towards this end they left no stone unturned; and they were in possession of the most important communications which Amanullah sent to Lenin, and that, too, within two days of their receipt at the secret Russian office at Tashkend.

The Viceroy telegraphed the following on May 23rd to the Secretary of State for India in London, as given on page 18 of the White Paper printed in 1919 for presentation to the British Parliament. It runs:

" Following report, dated May 21st, has been received:

" ' W/T station at Tashkend last night sent to Lenin and Foreign Minister at Moscow message that two sealed letters, both dated April 7th, addressed to the President of the Russian Republic, have been received from Kabul, one from Amanullah, Ameer of Afghanistan, the other signed by Mahmud, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Latter expresses hope that friendly relations with Bolshevism will be established on permanent basis. Amanullah, in his letter, says that hitherto Afghanistan has stood apart from all other nations, but now that Russia has raised the standard of Bolshevism he hastens to declare that she has earned the gratitude of the whole world, and that he seizes the occasion of his accession to throne of Afghanistan to announce to Republic of Russia that he strongly adheres to the principle of equality among all men and peaceful union of all peoples: he expresses hope that the honoured President of Russian Republic will not refuse his friendly greeting. Tone of letter, which is signed " Your friend Amanullah," is subservient and not of kind to which we are used. Tashkend asks what replies should be made and says originals will be kept there till direct communication with Moscow is established. In telegram to Eastern Propaganda Department Bravin asks that reminder be sent to Barkatullah of his promise to write a pamphlet on Bolshevism in the Koran, and that the work be hastened on, and 100,000 copies in Persian and Hindustani printed and sent by special courier with all speed.' Yesterday morning, in response to challenge, Afghan showed letters, dated April 7th, which Amanullah had had addressed, but not actually sent, to Japan, Turkey, Persia, France and U.S.A., in which he announces his accession, requests that Government addressed in each case should accept his respects, and explains that owing to certain causes, as he says,

Afghanistan had not previously been able to have relations with Governments of other great States."

There is no blame attached to Great Britain in having succeeded in securing this secret document. Every wide-awake nation ought to do the same: and this ought to be an eye-opener to every Afghan to note how things of the State ought to be done; and how the cause and interest of their nation should never be trusted to an inefficient person who would employ motor drivers and others of that type to be Officers of Intelligence: for, after all, Intelligence is but the ears and eyes of a Government; and only a nincompoop would willingly use spectacles that do not give clear vision. But who was to tell this to Amanullah—Amanullah, the All Wise—who had dethroned all nobles and would not listen to anybody's advice ? Machination, he thought, was always the best instrument.

But whilst this was the sad case in Afghanistan, the British were none too happy in their side of the campaign. It is true that they had occupied Dakka, had bombed Jalalabad and frightened Amanullah by dropping bombs in the Arg, but it is to be questioned whether very much more harm could have been done, even if the war were prolonged.

The transport facilities were very bad during the campaign: for three weeks the British troops at Dakka had no rations save bully beef, biscuits, tea and sugar. And when you have to fight under the grilling heat of 110 in the shade in the hottest month of Indian summer, and receive no adequate supply of food, the cheerfulness of the troops cannot be maintained. To crown this misery, cholera broke out amongst the British troops. The first case was reported at Jamrud on June 4th; it spread like jungle fire. Next day there were thirteen; within a week it reached to ninety-nine. Of course, there was dearth of water and hospital accommodation.



PUBLIC GARDENS UNDER SNOW
AT KABUL

On the Kohat frontier it was worst, where no less than 337 cases were reported.

In addition it is undeniable that the morale of the British troops was not up to its usual standard; for they fretted to get back to Europe, being war-weary, and it is an open secret that what with the lack of transport, and irritation of continuing a war when the Great War was over, the British forces were not especially keen to proceed to Jalalabad. In spite of the " efficient Intelligence Service " (?) of Amanullah, these factors had escaped the knowledge of the Afghan Delegates at Rawalpindi, which stands as a monument of the insufficiency of the skill of statecraft of Amanullah. I mention the name of Amanullah so repeatedly because the Afghan Government was a one-man show then, the will of the nation counted for naught before the imperious whims of the Ameer: and the responsibility can be laid entirely at his door for having started a vicious circle of intrigue, inefficiency and arrogance, which brought the State to such a pass that ultimately the proud Afghan nation had to be dishonoured by the rise of a menial like the water-carrier's son.

After much wrangling, however, peace was signed between Amanullah's representatives and the British at eleven o'clock on August 8th, 1919, at Rawalpindi: the following articles for the restoration of peace were agreed upon:

Article 1. From date of signing of this treaty there shall be peace between the British Government on the one part and the Government of Afghanistan on the other.

Article 2. In view of the circumstances which have brought about the present war between the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan the British Government to mark their displeasure withdraw the privilege enjoyed by former Ameers of importing

arms, ammunition, or warlike munitions through India to Afghanistan.

Article 3. The arrears of the late Ameer's subsidy are furthermore confiscated and no subsidy is granted to the present Amir.

Article 4. At the same time the British Government is desirous of the re-establishment of the old friendship that has so long existed between Afghanistan and Great Britain provided they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are on their part sincerely anxious to regain the friendship of the British Government. The British Government are prepared, therefore, provided the Afghan Government prove this by their acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and amicable settlement of matters of common interest to the two Governments and the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis.

Article 5. The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Ameer. They further agree to the early demarcation by a British commission of the undemarcated portion of the line to the west of the Khyber where the recent Afghan aggression took place and to accept such boundary as the British commission may lay down. The British troops on this side will remain in their present positions until such demarcation has been effected.

After the formal signature of the Instrument Sir Hamilton Grant, the leader of the British Delegation, handed a note to the head of the Afghan Delegation in the following terms:

" You asked me for some further assurance that the Treaty of Peace now offered by the British Government contains nothing that interferes with the complete liberty of Afghanistan in external or internal matters.

My friend, if you will read the Treaty of Peace with care you will see that there is in it no such interference with the liberty of Afghanistan. You have informed me that the Government of Afghanistan is unwilling to renew the arrangement under which the late Ameer, Habibullah Khan, agreed to follow the advice of the Government of Great Britain in matters affecting the external relations of Afghanistan, without reserve. I have therefore refrained from pressing this matter of which the Treaty of Peace contains no mention. By the said Treaty and this letter, therefore, Afghanistan is left officially free and independent in its affairs, both internal and external. Furthermore, all previous treaties have been cancelled by this war."

PROGRESS AND POLICY AT KABUL

CHAPTER IX

PROGRESS AND POLICY AT KABUL

Soon after the return of the Afghan Delegation to Kabul, at the capital much rejoicing took place. The Afghan diplomats at Rawalpindi had achieved much less than their demands; but they were nevertheless successful in bringing back with them an undertaking that their independence was henceforth undisputed. Truth to tell that was the only thing worth insisting on, and its acquisition greatly pleased the nation: which undoubtedly installed Amanullah's claim as the "liberator" of his people in a quite definite manner. From now onward he was a national hero. But two more factors cannot be disregarded. One was that it was the thrust of Sirdar Nadir Khan into the British territory which provided a lever towards a successful bargaining at Rawalpindi. Without the Sepah Salar's advance on Thal, the British attitude could easily have stiffened. Credit, too, is to be given to the statesmanlike handling of negotiations by the Sirdar Ali Ahmed Khan at the Conference.

Nor lesser wisdom was displayed from the British side in this regard. None could have expected otherwise from the sagacity of Sir Hamilton Grant. It was quite rightly realised that no power on earth, during these years of advancing progress, could hope to control the politics of another nation. Yes ! " Nation " is the word, for the Afghan people to-day fulfil the whole definition of a nation by possessing a common language, religion,

outlook, culture and the development of their political history grown on the same hopes and fears for centuries together.

The only apprehension, which assuredly dictated the British policy in the past towards this control of Afghan foreign relations, was due to the ever-growing Russian menace to India. That the peril of such a military enterprise was real, the history of Central Asia amply proves ; yet during the Great War, as the Czarist Russia was England's ally, on the successful conclusion of that Armageddon it could have been conceived that no such threat to India would be contemplated, and feeling ought to have been less excited about Afghanistan's alliance with a Czarist Russia.

At that period of the World War, let there be no mistake about it, more than Afghan minds entertained misgivings regarding the Anglo-Czarist alliance, as certain people pointed it out to the Afghans that in the fact of the Russo-British friendship lurked a danger to the Afghan independence by having that country apportioned between them into north Russian influence; and on Jalalabad side by declaring it to be in the British sphere of influence, such as was the case with Persia at one time. Naturally, the Afghans could never have tolerated it, as subsequent events showed their eagerness for an independent existence.

But when the Czarist régime was overthrown, and Bolsheviks had penetrated up to the northern confines of Afghanistan, the military threat of the Czarist time had virtually ceased to be. On that score, withholding the British consent from the Afghan foreign policy would have been quite unreasonable even if the Afghans had not fought for it. These considerations guided the British statesmen, coupled with other difficulties in which the Empire was involved after the war.

On the conclusion of peace with England, and when

both the Afghan Delegation and General Mohamed Nadir Shah had been publicly honoured at Kabul, the atmosphere of the Afghan Court took a decidedly better turn. The young king came up to his own, and when wise counsel was available he had the wisdom to take it, and go forward with a programme of progress as an undisputed monarch of all that he surveyed. Probably the very first steps which he took were towards having the independence of his people known far and wide.

An Afghan Mission was dispatched to Moscow, which was received there with much favour and secured a promise for the return of the Panjdeh area on the north-western Afghan border, which had been seized by the Czarist Government. Bearing the King's letters and signed photographs the Mission travelled to many parts of the world. The Envoy, one Mohamed Wali, leading the Delegation had friendly contact with France and Italy, but neither America nor England encouraged him. I well remember meeting them in London, but the leader of the Mission was true to his type—arrogant, scheming and, what is more, intensely suspicious of everything and everybody. During many conversations with him in England, it was made increasingly patent to me that the Envoy did not quite understand how an intelligent Afghan could exist in London without being a British spy: for espionage was as much on their brain as was the case in England during the Great War, when every peering light from an inoffensive medical student's study was mistaken for a spy's signal to the German Zeppelins.

But this apart, he showed correct firmness in refusing to deal with anyone but the Foreign Minister of the British Government: Lord Curzon, however, referred him to the India Office, which cut the Afghans to the quick, for they were not going to let the world forget that Amanullah was an independent ruler, whose representatives could have no conversation with a Government depart-

ment which deals with the subordinate areas of the Empire.

Nor did they like the late Colonel Pears, of the Frontier Province reputation, who was deputed to be with the Envoy in London. He was regarded as one meddling with their affairs and placed as a guard to watch all their movements. All these conditions subscribed to create an unhappy state of affairs in the Envoy's mind, who, doubtless upon return to Kabul, reported about the treatment meted out to them by the Afghan "spies" and English guardians whilst in England: to which another unfortunate incident was added.

During their stay in London, Lord Curzon—the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—whilst surveying the matters of the Islamic world in Parliament, added that Afghanistan had secured some measure of independence. To this the Afghans took strong exception, oblivious of the fact that Lord Curzon had never forgotten that he was once a Viceroy, prior to which he had met Amanullah's grandfather in Kabul, and that his regal mind was the envy of the greatest Imperialists of all time; also that an alleged saying of his: "What Curzon has Curzon holds," had gone the round of the Moslem East. The Afghans took the Foreign Minister's words at their face value, giving little credit to the whole background, which naturally does not impart a favourable glow to the diplomatic training of the leader of the first Afghan Mission in London. Could Amanullah not have selected a better person, you may ask? But Mohamed Wali had a curious career in the Afghan revolution, as we shall see later.

Early in 1920, however, a Bolshevik mission, under M. Bravin, visited Kabul, but concluded no treaty for the cession of Panjdeh. The British feared that he had come for no other purpose than anti-British propaganda. The Afghan climate suited the Russian Envoy so well

that he stayed on at Kabul. Then, rumours began to arise regarding Bravin's being repudiated by his government; and yet he continued to live in Afghanistan. Later he is said to have "seen the other side of the picture," and refused to be over-enthusiastic in his work. Gradually, it is alleged, he developed a great passion for the exploration of the country, till one evening he failed to return from his expedition of herb-collecting, and has never been heard of since.

In April, Amanullah's Mission again visited India for a conference, with the object of clearing away misunderstandings, and for preparing a foundation on which negotiations for a treaty of friendship could be opened. The British delegates, led by Sir Henry Dobbs, met the Mission of Sirdar Mahmood Tarzi at Mussoorie, and, with a short interruption, the conversation was carried on to the end of July. The points discussed included the Afghan view regarding the leniency to be shown in respect of the peace terms which were to be offered to the Turks, the question of the Khalifat, or the leadership of the Islamic world, the frontier tribesmen, the internal status of Afghanistan, the renewal of commercial relations between Afghanistan and India, and finally the acceptance of British assistance towards the peaceful development of Afghanistan.

During this time, Amanullah's statesmanship was put to severe test. The Khalifat agitation in India had blazed up so suddenly that the British Government was seriously concerned about it. The delay in settling the Treaty of Turkey was the sole cause of it, especially because in the Moslem world it was known that Mr. Lloyd George's Government was anti-Islamic and wished to dismantle the Church of Allah; and, indeed, from the public pronouncements of the Welsh politician there was no mistaking the fact that he was imbued with crusading sentiments; "throw the Turks out, bag and

baggage " was freely mentioned, which did an enormous damage to the British prestige throughout the world of Islam.

But here we are more intimately concerned with the Indian phase of that agitation, particularly because a gathering of storm there created very palpable appreciation of it in Afghanistan. Two very well-known persons, Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, were undoubtedly the uncrowned kings of that movement; and as the movement unquestionably had a world-wide Moslem appeal, the Afghan King and his people could not but consider everything which the Ali brothers said as gospel truth. Later, both brothers were styled as Moulana, a religious title; and their activities in Indian politics are too well known to require any dilatation from me here. The elder Moulana, having now married an English lady, is leading the Moslems against the Hindus, and is exhorting upon Moslems to co-operate with the British in India.

During that anti-British phase of their political activities in India, however, the Moulanas did not spare to malign the fair name of any man who did not agree with their views. They were the dictators, and no one had the right of discussion; hence many a poor Moslem was " dubbed " a British spy in consequence, and the Kabul Court duly recorded it as an indelible pronouncement. Out of this arose a great tragedy—that of a religious emigration, called the Hijrat of the Moslems from India into Afghanistan. And here Amanullah's sagacity was sorely tested.

Early in the summer, the movement first started in the Province of Sindh, then it spread into the North-Western Province abutting on Afghanistan, and subsequently spread throughout North India. Hundreds of families sold their land and property, says an official document, for a mere song, settled up all their worldly affairs, placed

their wives and children on carts and hied forth to Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass. It is calculated that nearly 18,000 people, animated in a high degree by religious enthusiasm, moved in the direction of Afghanistan in the grilling heat of August. In the first flush of the movement the Muhajirs, as these emigrants were called, were well received in Kabul, especially if they bore personal letters of the promoters of Hijrat; but later, when Amanullah discovered that all available land had been used up, and notably when it was discovered that most of the emigrants were never-do-well, or even disinclined to work, Amanullah refused to accept them in his country. The actual promoters of the movement, however, never considered it worth while to migrate themselves.

Then a hue and cry was raised against the inhospitality of Amanullah, by the very same Moulanas who had been so laudatory about it barely two months ago; but as they had to ride the storm yet awhile Amanullah heard of this, and said: "No more." As a result, the tide of emigrants all but ceased to flow, and thousands returned to India. Quite a number of young men who had genuinely felt the religious call, upon reaching Kabul insisted to be allowed to proceed to Angora, which in most cases they could only do by crossing Turkestan.

The Bolshevik propaganda in 1920 had assumed great magnitude, the full force of which was felt in Turkestan, which at Tashkend was installed the base for propaganda in the Middle East. From the Afghan point of view this preaching of Moscow philosophy scarcely ever created an adverse political atmosphere amongst the Afghans against their King or Government. But the value of propaganda was recognised by the Bolsheviks, because by its means alone could they vindicate their overthrowing the Czarist régime. Whatever one's personal feeling about Communism may be, it is undeniable that

at the outset what appeared as an anti-capitalist move on the part of the Russians was, and indeed even to-day is, in the essence of self-vindication and thus self-defence. It was the circumstances of world economics which made it so pointedly antagonistic to British interests in the East.

As the question impinges upon the Hijrat, in which the Afghan Government had to take a share; also because it was the fashion at that early part of Amanullah's reign to harbour suspicions regarding his attitude towards Bolshevik propaganda intended for India, an account of an Indian Mohajir emigrant might well act as an eye-opener to those who have accused the Afghans time and again of being the medium of any disloyalty in regard to their neighbourly friendship. I have set down almost word for word the following narrative by an Indian Mohajir:

" It was in 1920. I was a youth of twenty-two, just coming to the end of my art studies at a university in Northern India. And I had all the hot-blooded impulsiveness of youth.

" There was much that inflamed me. Political discord in India was rapidly increasing. Feeling was tense against the British because of the treaty which she was to accord to the Turks and which, to my mind, and that of my co-religionists, threatened to dismantle the Turkish Empire, which would have been a blow to Islam as a whole.

" The Allied troops were still occupying much of the Turkish territory. The fate of Constantinople was still in the balance. Rightly or wrongly the Mussalmans of my Province interpreted the signs as indicating that England was the enemy of Islam.

" Moscow was remote from my mind then. I thought only that my religion was threatened. To make matters worse, even though I had qualified at the university, I

found that I was unable to get work. Thus my mind was open to discontent.

" The religious agitation in India grew until our leaders pronounced that India, being in possession of a country ' unfavourable to Islam,' it was the duty of every Moslem to ' leave the country of infidelity.'

" Young and old, we banded together to obey. We were told that in Afghanistan we would find many true believers, and I determined to make one of the numerous parties which were bound for the Khyber Pass, planning to make our way through Afghanistan to Angora, there to fight against the British.

" Now I know that we misjudged the British. But then I was a hot-blooded youth aflame with religious fervour. With this frenzy upon me I sold all my possessions, what landed property I had going to the money-lenders for a few rupees.

" With a party of my co-religionists I went up through the defiles of the Khyber Pass. Our progress was triumphant. We were hailed as *Ghazis*—Knights of the Religion.

" As we penetrated into Afghanistan we were greeted by the people who bore banners of welcome, and cried: ' *Allah o Akbar! Allah o Akbar!* '—God is great.

" We Ghazis travelled in bands of twenty to thirty, sometimes on foot, sometimes on hardy little ponies. We were fed all along the route, loaded with melons and grapes. We had lost all for our religion. We were true believers. Thus we saw ourselves; thus the Afghans saw us.

" So we came to Kabul, the capital, where Amanullah, then a King secure upon his throne, greeted us as brothers, and instructed his ministers to select a committee to look after our welfare.

" He invited us to settle, offering to those who willed land in the North which they could till. Others he invited to stay in the capital and become teachers.

" I was one of those who refused. We were set on getting to Angora in defence of Islam. When Amanullah knew we were resolved to go through with it, he advised us to go North and enter Russian Turkestan by way of Mazar Sharif. That, he insisted, was the easiest route to Angora.

" So North we Ghazis trekked, planning to reach Bokhara and from there, by way of the Trans-Caspian railroad, to the port of Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shore of the Caspian. From there we could cross to Baku, from thence through Armenia to Angora.

" But Moscow had been secretly warned that we were on our way. I see now that Moscow realised what wonderful material we would be to be turned into Red propaganda agents in the East. But we suspected nothing, even when the Russian advance guard met us at the frontier which is marked by the River Oxus.

" We were hailed as religious heroes who had left India because it was held by the nation which was determined to crush Islam. Banners were waved, bands played, a great feast was prepared.

" The Russians applauded our desire to journey to Angora, there to fight in the defence of Islam. We were advised to journey to Samarkand, take train to Tashkend, and from there to Turkey. So to Tashkend we went—and Moscow chuckled up its sleeve.

" We arrived at Tashkend—and the web was then woven tightly about us. There had come post haste from Moscow the notorious Indian revolutionary, Roy. He is a Bengali, tall and dark, consumed by religious zeal, and burning with hatred for the British.

" Roy met us at Tashkend, and welcomed us in the name of the Soviet. He made all arrangements for our comfort, seeing that we wanted for nothing. He was provided with unlimited funds from Moscow.

" Roy quickly showed his hand. But he did it subtly.

He approved whole-heartedly of our desire to defend Islam. But why, he asked, need we travel to Angora to do that?

"'The way is long and arduous and dangerous,' he declared. 'Many of you will fall in battle before you have done anything for the cause. Your desire is to thwart the British in their determination to enslave Islam? You need not travel to Angora to do that. You can do it here in Russia, and with greater effect.'

"He preached to us the gospel of Bolshevism, but we saw simply that he offered us a chance to serve Islam. Roy was cunning enough to know that we would probably have refused to become agents of Moscow simply to widen the rule of the Soviet.

"He piled argument upon argument. He fed fuel to our religious zeal. He lavished gold upon us. He told of Indians who had been given thousands of pounds to establish a press in India—a press to further the cause of Islam, he declared.

"One of his orations burned itself upon my brain:

> "'If Islam is to be saved, the Imperialist Government of England must be struck at the very root in India. Unless there is revolution in India the British will for ever dominate the peoples of the East. When the Soviet Government dawned it heralded the freedom of Islam.'

"Most of us succumbed to his blandishments. There were a few who took the road to Angora, but Moscow put no obstacles in their way, being content with its victory over those who remained.

"I was one who stayed. I was sent to Moscow, where I was placed in comfortable quarters, and everything, even to luxuries, was provided. Tashkend was then being prepared as the training centre for Red propa-

gandists. Meanwhile we attended lectures in the museums of Moscow.

" After a few months the training schools at Tashkend were ready, and I returned. I found myself one of students of both sexes and of all ages. There were Egyptians and Chinese, Persians and even Zulus, all to be turned into Red agents to attack Imperialism.

" Throughout it was never lost sight of that Britain was the real enemy to be overthrown. It was dinned into us at every turn.

" We were housed in comfortable hostels. Although no money was given to us, we had everything we asked for. We were given expensive fur coats.

" We were divided into groups according to the languages we spoke. My lecturer was an Indian. We were given courses in economics, in politics, history and geography. Above all we were taught the art of public speaking.

" I must own to the thoroughness of our training. The merits and demerits of Bolshevism apart, I must say that in educational direction the Soviet has worked wonders. It is obvious why we, who were to carry the Bolshevist gospel to the ends of the world, had to be thoroughly grounded in these subjects.

" Nor was military training forgotten. We were told that we must be prepared for the revolution which was to come in India. Because I was an Indian I had been marked down for propaganda work there.

" Our military training stressed the expert use of the revolver, and the manufacture and use of the bomb and the infernal machine.

" After a year's study in economics and other subjects which I have outlined, I was detailed to one of the propaganda trains upon which Moscow places great store.

" These trains travelled from Tashkend, through

Bokhara to the Eastern shore of the Caspian. Each train had five wagons. One contained sleeping-berths for the personnel. A second was fitted with a small but efficient printing plant. In the third was a wireless set by which the train staff kept in direct communication with Tashkend and Moscow.

" In a fourth wagon was a cinematograph projector, and in the fifth a most up-to-date library. The train was in charge of a senior comrade. It was emphasised that we were all ' brothers,' irrespective of colour or nationality.

" We had been taught the language of the peasants of Bokhara, the Uzbeks, whose country was a Russian protectorate. Moscow was anxious to instil the teachings of Bolshevism into them.

" Our method was this. Advance warning of our coming was sent to a village, the headmen being instructed to meet us at the wayside station, bringing as many of the villagers as they could gather together.

" We timed ourselves to arrive in the late afternoon. Our first act was to provide a great feast for the villagers. After the meal the side of the sleeping compartment was lowered, forming a platform from which the gospel of Bolshevism was preached.

" We rammed home the ' virtues of Bolshevism,' and drew a picture of Britain as the capitalist country which threatened to enslave the world.

" When night fell the side of the cinema wagon was lowered, and propaganda films shown upon the screen. Those films were cunningly made. There was always a story on popular film lines, but it was a story which showed Bolshevism as the saviour of the people, and the peasants in particular.

" Some of the stories were legendary, and had been prepared by sons of the peasants who had become Red propaganda agents. In some of them Lenin was por-

trayed as a kind of Robin Hood, who robbed the capitalists to give to the poor.

" In one film he was shown as a kind of St. George slaying the dragon of British Imperialism.

" Other films showed Turkestan peasant women being brutally ill-treated by capitalist masters, most of whom appeared as Englishmen. The end of the film showed the peasants being freed by Bolshevik comrades.

" When the cinema show was ended, the villagers were again fed, and then the train passed on to the next village, leaving behind an impression that Bolshevism was the one hope of the world.

" For one year I travelled with the propaganda train. Then I was recalled to Tashkend, and told that I was to be given my chance to overthrow the British in India.

" ' You are to work among the people who refused you liberty to follow your religion,' I was told, and that I would go by way across the frontier into India.

" And, preparatory to my start, I underwent a second intensive course of military training."

And the fortune of the narrator took him further away from the subject of this book, so I omit the rest.

From this, of course, two points are made clear. The first is that Amanullah's people at no time of their history would agree to being anybody's cat's-paw. They had had too much experience of international complications; also no self-respecting and independent people could ever conceive the idea that they should betray the trust of one friend in favour of another. Secondly, that if Russia indulged in propaganda it merely proved that propaganda is her life-sap: she must popularise her political philosophy, however bad or wicked it be, to prove to her people that a change of government has been for the good. It was contended, too, that it should be entirely the business of her nationals, and nobody else, to accept or to refuse it: and finally it was considered as

abundantly proved that, by so doing, she was consolidating her own political position, and if that process ran counter to any other State, then it was the affair of that State and not that of Russia.

It was in this light that matters were viewed in the Middle East, which gave rise to misrepresentations of Amanullah's attitude towards early Bolshevism.

AMANULLAH GOES THE PACE

CHAPTER X

AMANULLAH GOES THE PACE

SOME two months after the Mussoorie Conference, at which Amanullah's officers established the first landmarks for a lasting treaty of friendship with Great Britain, the Afghan Government invited a British Mission to Kabul in October. Towards the close of 1920, the Afghan capital experienced more political activity during the winter months than at any time during its recent history: for beside the British, both the veteran Turkish General, Jamal Pasha, and M. Suritz, the Bolshevik Envoy, were said to be very busy. The Russian demands about the installation of their Consulates at Jalalabad, Ghazni and Kandahar, so close to the Indian border, alarmed the British representatives, for they feared that these would be used as Bolshevik propaganda bases for operations in India. Amanullah was, however, wise enough to realise that the Bolshevik demand, if conceded, would involve him in difficulties with his neighbours, and he persuaded the Russian Government to forgo that item of the Russian-Afghan treaty.

This and other political cross-currents at Kabul kept the parties in contest till signatures were appended to an Anglo-Afghan Instrument on November 22nd, 1921, at Kabul, with a view to the establishment of neighbourly relations between the two countries. The full text of this treaty, together with those which Amanullah concluded with Germany and Bolshevik Russia, will be found at the end of this book.

As soon as these external affairs were more or less settled, the young Afghan King commenced to overhaul his internal administration. The very first step taken was towards tariff reform, because he noticed that the system of Customs was extremely antiquated and impeded trade. It was irregular, too; for instance, there was a class called Chilyaka—or one in forty. This tax imposed 1/40 either per load, or per weight, per cost price, per number of articles or per piece of cloth. From this it can be seen that no fixed system of determining the value of goods imported existed. Likewise there were loose arrangements upon merchandise regarding the share of various middlemen and organisations, which, as often as not, encouraged persons in charge to make extortions, such as the price-judge's commission, import duty of 10 per cent., agency commission, the lamp duty, the safety duty, the escort duty and the rest, the arbitrary and uncertain levying of which was stifling trade.

Amanullah ordered that all items of export or import were to be classified as to whether they were luxuries or necessaries of life, and be taxed high or low accordingly. The duties were henceforth paid under one head, adjudged on current market prices.

The imports through Dakka, Toogai, Gomal, Bajour, Chitrar, and other routes from India, Persia or Russia into Afghanistan were divided into three categories:

(1) Free from all duties: Religious literature, the Koran, and commentaries; also all war material.

(2) One hundred per cent. duty was imposed on the current prices of all articles the use of which was not considered necessary, such as artificial flowers, cosmetics, imitation jewellery, European carpets, gentlemen's collars, fine clothes, pictures, tinned food, cigars and cigarettes, playing cards, marble balls (for playing), sugar, honey, poppy seeds, colouring matter.

Also on ladies' finery, such as silk stockings, fine silk, face powder, women's European hats, cutlery, china vases, gold cloth, tinned sweetmeats of all descriptions, scented soap, hashish and all narcotics.

(3) Forty per cent. duty on tea; but only 25 per cent. on useful items which the Afghans needed, such as: boots and shoes, chairs, kerosene oil, petrol; whilst 15 per cent. was levied on cotton piece-goods, linen, cotton and thread, buttons, boot polish, padlocks, mirrors, ready-made leather goods, harness and saddlery, Indian carpets, Indian turban cloth, medical herbs, matches, stationery, bicycles, oil lamps and lanterns, live-stock.

Only a nominal duty was charged on foreign gold and silver coins and bullion.

In order to encourage Afghan trade export duty was reduced variously from 80 per cent. to 1 per cent. on fresh and dried fruit, herb roots and seeds, hide and fur skins, Afghan silk, Kabuli shawls, raw silk, madder, carpets of all kinds. For the internal trade, too, the tax was reduced to 5 per cent. of the value of the merchandise; whilst on goods in transit from Russia to India, or vice versa, rates varied from 20 per cent. to 2 per cent. on such items as tea, piece-goods, furs and hides.

But the reforms which were badly needed were in connection with the actual administration of the Customs department, and although it had awaited reforms for generations Amanullah was the only man who had the courage to introduce them. All extortion and smuggling of goods was made a penal offence, and he published a Royal Order consisting of twenty-six clauses. The first two exhort upon both the merchants and the Customs official their respective duties towards God and their country; and the rest is extremely important to show the earnestness with which he grappled the whole system,

that had become a mere sham and a hotbed of corruption during his predecessor's time.

"We have graciously exempted the merchants," he says in that historical Order, "from the further payment of Custom duties for the merchandise they have imported before our reign (and for which they paid up import duties, as fixed before) if they carry such goods now from one place to another.

"Previously merchants were given four months' time for the payment of duties after the day their goods were checked and dues estimated at the custom house. After these four months they were allowed to continue payment by instalments within two months. But it has been found out by experience that such concession involves a loss to merchants as well as to the State. A merchant has been occupied in the interest of his business, and has not made payment at the proper time. Arrear after arrear has been heaped up until the amount has become too much for him and the matter brought to the notice of the Government. Men have been appointed to force him for payment, and all his property has been exhausted in appeasing and satisfying such men, until he has become bankrupt, and the Government dues have not been paid up. During the last five or six years many merchants have been granted further concessions and long intervals for payment of dues, and from some of them Government dues could not be collected.

"Therefore we have abolished such loan-concessions of the State dues. The customs official is ordered to collect the dues as soon as he has checked and passed the goods, and settled the amount of dues. After receiving the dues in cash he should give proper receipt for the same.

"Merchants ought to have their goods passed through the custom house of the locality where they have their dealings, or where they purchase the goods. After that



WALA HUZRAT HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS SIRDAR SHAH WALI KHAN, THE VICTOR OF KABUL, WITH THE LEADERS OF THE AFGHAN CLANS

they can carry their goods wherever they desire. For instance, a Jalalabad or Lamkan merchant should pass his goods imported from India through the custom houses of Jalalabad or Lamkan. Similarly a Herat merchant should pass through the Herat custom house the goods he imports from Persia, Russia or Bokhara. The State would not allow a merchant of Turkestan or Herat to carry straight to the Jalalabad custom house the goods he means for India, because they would be comparatively cheaper in Jalalabad and so he would have to pay less dues there. The State, however, allows such procedure only in case if the merchant sells his goods at the place where he has passed them through the custom house. Supposing he has sold part of his goods there, and he desires to carry the remaining part to another place, where he expects better profit, he ought to pay up at the same custom house the difference of dues that might have been payable at the latter custom house, obtain proper receipt for that, and remove his goods as he likes.

"The customs officials should give proper receipt for the dues they collect, with entries therein of the name, parentage, locality, etc., of the merchant as well as of the kind of merchandise, with the number and other details of the loads. The merchant is to produce such receipt at every custom house he passes, and the official there will check the goods according to it. If there be no difference and the loads bear the custom house stamp, the official would let the goods pass without demanding any further dues. Neither should the merchant be worried if the goods were less than the quantity specified in the receipt, for he would have disposed of part of them on the way. If, on the other hand, the goods be more than the quantity specified in the receipt, and some of the load bore no stamp of the custom house, it would show that the merchant was smuggling extra goods. Such extra goods,

for which he has not paid dues, should be confiscated so that he should not repeat such practice, and his punishment might be a lesson to other merchants.

" A merchant who has once paid his dues properly, and obtained receipt for the same, can carry his goods wherever he likes, and nowhere further dues will be demanded of him. But if he sells his goods to another merchant of that place, and the merchant No. 2 might think of carrying them to another place, he should also take the receipt for custom dues from merchant No. 1, who should confirm it, and the official of that custom house should satisfy himself about the transaction, and confirm it in the receipt, adding the names of the seller and the purchaser, and stating that proper custom dues had been paid up, and that no more dues were to be demanded anywhere. If the latter happens to sell the same goods to merchant No. 3, or No. 3 to No. 4, the same rule will hold good. The rule is applicable even if merchant No. 1 sells part of his goods, and the part thus sold were to be carried by the purchaser to some other station.

" In case of an article or articles of merchandise not named in categories under the heading (*a*), the Customs officials should put them under allied categories, and, if any doubt or difficulty arise in this respect, they should refer the matter to the Minister for Commerce, who would settle it himself as far as he had powers. If it exceeded his powers he would lay it before us.

" The articles whose export was prohibited before us are still positively prohibited. They are recorded in every administrative office of the country. If they were exported in spite of the prohibition, they would be confiscated by the State when found out and proved. Minted or unminted silver and gold were not prohibited before, but they are prohibited now, therefore no silver or gold minted or unminted is allowed to go out of the

country. Made-up jewellery and precious stones are not prohibited.

" If customs officials or other persons appointed for the purpose of watching the routes and preventing smuggling discover some person carrying articles of commerce without having paid proper dues, such articles will be confiscated, and the tenth part of what remains of them after the fixed dues are deducted from their price will be given as reward to the person or persons who have discovered the smuggling.

" All the previous dues, as referred to before, have been abolished. But if a tradesman had local rates anywhere he shall pay them as they were paid before now.

" As all the custom houses and ports and various departments of income (excluding land revenue) are under the control of the Commercial Ministry, officials in charge of such places and offices requiring further instructions in departmental matters, should refer to His Excellency the Minister for Commerce, who will give instructions in matters within his power, or lay them before us if they were beyond his power. The Minister's instructions are to be obeyed and carried out.

" In case of smuggling discovered by any custom official or person in charge of some port if it were found that the smuggling party was too strong, and could not be detained, the said official should at once communicate the matter to the nearest administrative centre, obtain necessary military help, and seize and confiscate the goods that were being smuggled.

" The whole staff of a custom house are under the official of that custom house. No member of that staff should consider himself independent of the official in charge, and all should fulfil under him the duties assigned to each.

" Keepers of caravanserais and other persons appointed

for carrying and opening merchandise cases and bales ought to be watchful that, when the goods or merchandise are being inspected by the custom official for noting and reckoning the dues, the goods should neither be lost nor damaged, and they should take every care to protect merchandise from rain or snow. The said official has power to punish or fine them for neglect of their duty.

" If the Government receive a report about dishonesty or fraud of any custom official or servant, persons will be immediately appointed to investigate the case and check the accounts of the official reported against. If the report be true and the case be proved, the culprit will be punished in proportion to his guilt. If, on the other hand, the report turned out to be false and could not be proved, the reporter would be given the same punishment to which the other person would have been subjected in case of having been proved guilty.

" No custom official should take bribes. If anyone took bribes and it were proved against him, or if fraud or embezzlement were proved against him, he would be at once dismissed from service, and at the same time punished according to his guilt, so that it might be a lesson for others.

" Importation into Afghanistan is prohibited of all kinds of intoxicating liquors. If any person disobeyed this law, and imported such liquors openly or secretly, his imported property would be destroyed, and he would be kept in prison for three years, and a fine equivalent to half the price of the said property would be imposed on him.

" The work of every custom house has been carefully estimated, and a sufficient number of clerks and servants has been appointed to carry on the work under the official. No addition to this number can be made without our permission. If some customs official deemed an

addition necessary he should apply to us through the Minister of Commerce, stating how many more men were wanted, and fully explaining reasons for the same.

" The customs officials are ordered to remit to the Public Treasury the whole amount of dues received every Wednesday of the week, and obtain receipt for the same. They should not keep such revenues with themselves for more than a week. If it were proved that anyone had done so, he would be dismissed from service.

" We have changed the clerical system in all offices, and every customs office is provided with properly ruled and lined registers, receipts and reports. No erasing or scoring out should be done in these books and papers. Mistake or error should be struck off with only a line across it so that it might still remain legible, and correction should be noted over it, which should be initialled by the official in charge. In case any clerk did not show his mistake or error to his official and scored it out or erased it, if such an action did not involve any loss to the Government, one-half of his one month's salary would be deducted on the first fault, one full month's on the second fault, and he would be dismissed the service on repeating it for the third time. After that he would be for ever debarred from Government service. If, on the other hand, his scoring out or erasing involved a loss to the Government, he would be fined double the amount of such loss, dismissed and debarred for ever from Government service.

" Previously in connection with customs additional officials under the name of Kafila-Bashis were appointed in all places. Such appointments were a loss to the Government, and a source of great annoyance to the public. A duty called ' Kafila-Bashis ' dues was levied. We have abolished these appointments throughout Afghanistan, in lieu of which tradesmen willingly agreed to pay one and a half as much of the same dues previously

fixed, which we have accepted and ordered to be henceforth collected. It is a separate duty even now, and is equal to one and a half of what it was before. The officials in charge of custom house are ordered to levy it. This duty does not concern merchants, but it is charged on those who own transport animals and use them for hire, whether they drive such animals themselves, or keep servants to drive them, or whether they use them for loading their own merchandise or use them on hire for other merchants.

" All servants of the Customs Department will be given their fixed salaries every two months from the Public Treasury in the usual course of procedure, and their signatures in pay-books taken.

" After his goods have reached the custom house the merchant is allowed one month during which he might have them checked for dues-reckoning, and removed from the customs premises. But if he delays and does not settle up the dues within a month, he is charged one rupee per bale each month as rent until he settles the dues and removes the goods.

" Men in charge of customs ports are to send their reports regularly as they did before to their customs officials.

" In every custom house for the purpose of accurately judging the price of commercial goods a certain number, according to the requirements of the local work, of good, honest, respectable, reliable and propertied merchants will be appointed. Such gentlemen will be called judges. They should be very polite and courteous, and should judge prices exactly at the current market rate, neither more nor less. If the prices fixed by them were below the market rate, thereby involving loss to the Government, on the first occasion a fine equivalent to the amount of loss to the Government would be imposed upon the judge, and remitted to the Public Treasury, on the second

occasion double of such amount, and on the third occasion three times as much will be taken from him as fine, and remitted to the Public Treasury, and the delinquent will be debarred from any place of trust under the Government. If, on the other hand, the prices fixed were higher than the current market rate, thereby involving loss to the owner of goods, some other judges should be appointed to judge the prices. If the difference was proved it would be stated by the new judges in writing and signed by them and confirmed by the customs official, and allowance for it would be made to the owner of the goods."

After these experiments in regulating the means of new taxation calculated to promote both the interests of the individual merchants and the State Treasury, more internal reforms were set going. Schools were opened and the courses of study were systematised. Primary education was made compulsory, and an adult school was also started where even the employees of the Government could receive education free of all fees. Two schools for boys of eight to eleven years as an innovation were also instituted, in which the entire course of study was conducted in the French and German language respectively; this with a view to preparing the students to be sent to French and German universities for higher education—which, indeed, was effected within a very short time, when large batches of Afghan boys were sent for that purpose both to Paris and Berlin.

Medical training and practice was next to come under the control of the State, and orders were passed in virtue of which no one could practise medicine till he had been examined and found efficient, thus limiting the experiments of local Hakim or apothecaries and herbalists, who had in previous years taken a large share in filling the Kabul cemeteries. Registration of births, marriages and deaths was also enforced; and, above all, a very

strict order was promulgated in regard to religious education and the conducting of prayers; which meant that all those Mullahs who, with no more qualification than being the relative of a priest, used to preach religion were to be checked till they had a full knowledge of the Koranic lore and the Prophet's traditions. This latter point incidentally, coupled with the curtailment of State emolument of the clergy, and the proper administration of Pious Foundations (or Uqaf) was the first step which started the clergy on the warpath against Amanullah, as we shall see in the later developments of the stormy career of this Afghan monarch. But, of course, such hostilities of the priest-class remained subterraneous, because Amanullah at that period was the undisputed hero of Kabul.

Reforms were heaped upon reforms in Afghanistan with each year of Amanullah's régime, till the Nizam Namah (or the code of laws), newly prepared, were introduced in the Southern Provinces. Even the worst enemy of Amanullah cannot argue that the new laws, embodying religious reforms in the shape of curtailing the activities of pure fanaticism, which impeded the national progress, or the new land assessment, or the new laws governing the recruitment of every eighth man for compulsory military duty, were other than wise steps. Their enforcement, however, as can be imagined by the stress which it imposed upon the rank and file of the clergy, was the cause of a severe revolt in the southern province of Khost, where the clan of Mangal in the spring of 1924 challenged the central government so effectively that the recalcitrant forces once were within measureable distance of the capital. But of this later: for here I must speak of the progress which was making itself felt during Amanullah's reign.

Telephone, telegraph and wireless were extensively used during this period. Afghan students were sent to

India to learn the art of telegraphy and its wide application. In virtue of the friendly feelings that now existed between Afghanistan and England, the Indian Government in pursuance of the convention of the peace treaty of 1921 gave the Afghan Government a gift of telegraph wire and its several requirements, and her employees actually laid the line between the Indian frontier and Kabul, the Afghan capital. For the services of these people, of course, the Afghans paid during the construction of the line. In road-building too, enormous advance was made, for even such insurmountable regions as the Kohistan, or the highlands on the north of Kabul, and the western sections of Herat on the Persian border, now boasted of excellent motor roads. Towards the Khyber Pass and Kandahar a system of making double roads was introduced for the first time, that is to say, one road for the ingoing traffic and the other for the outgoing: a sort of one-way traffic. So excellent has this endeavour been that whereas by old methods it took sometimes six to seven days to reach Kandahar in the south from Kabul, at that time one could start after breakfast from the capital and be at Kandahar just before sundown prayer.

Great activity was shown, too, in civil and military aviation. The Kabul aerodrome and landing-grounds might well be the envy of many of the neighbouring countries. The young Afghan aviators achieved marked success in Italy, where they were trained: so much so that whenever the Italian instructors were to show the best products of instruction, these Afghan students were paraded out.

Then he laid the foundation-stone of a new capital, some five miles from Kabul, naming it Darul-Aman (or the City of Amanullah), for the construction of which a very ambitious programme was adopted. German architects were engaged to build it. It was to rival the best Western towns both in beauty and grandeur. Wide

avenues were laid, and handsome buildings and dwelling-houses in the European style, with all devices and arrangement of sanitation were built. Girls' schools were also opened. His mother, with the aid of ex-Queen Suraya, helped in the programme, and a number of Afghan girls were prepared to be sent to Turkey for up-to-date and higher education.

Bribery was pronounced as the second highest crime of the realm. Government office arrangements were modelled on European methods; military training at the Military Academy was thoroughly overhauled and reorganised on the Turkish system of training, and both German and French methods of warfare were taught. Three senior Afghan officers were sent to attend the Western Command manœuvres in India, held near Quetta in October of 1926, and were entertained by the Indian Army Command.

The Khost Revolt

The new reforms of an over-zealous monarch to see his country in the forefront of all the nations of the world were not well received by the people of Khost—as already mentioned. Particularly the secular nature of the new code very greatly alarmed the clergy, who did not hesitate to use their influence against the Government of Amanullah.

The result was a formidable uprising of the Mangal tribe in Southern Afghanistan in 1924, when the clansmen of Zadrans had also joined the revolutionaries. An army of over six thousand men surrounded Matun, the capital of Khost, says the official report. By the middle of April of that year a considerable part of Southern Afghanistan was in open revolt, and, with the exception of a brief period in May, when the tribesmen had trekked to their hill fastnesses, the fighting continued

with vigour for three months against the forces of the Crown.

In July 1924, Abdul Karim, an exiled Afghan Sirdar, escaping from India, made his appearance in the disturbed area of Afghanistan in the hope of winning over to his side the recalcitrants in the name of his grandsire, Ameer Yakub Khan. But his appeal did not affect the essence of the rebellion. Presently the large and influential clan of Sulaiman Khail Ghilzai also joined issue with the rebels. Amanullah's Government was now seriously challenged, for his troops met with several reverses at Bedak, Patka and Hisark; and the central government decided to enlist auxiliaries from Khugani, Afridi, Mohmund, Kunari, Shinwari, Wazir and Hazara tribes; the idea being to gain the sympathies and armed support of tribes which had family feuds with the recalcitrant Mangals, thus arming the rival tribes from the State arsenal against their own kith and kin in the strict sense of the word.

The folly of creating and enlarging these old animosities of clans against each other received its full reward at the revolt of greater intensity which resulted in the expulsion of Amanullah, as we shall have cause to note later. Sufficient here to point out that the encouraging of this inter-tribal war amongst virtually the peoples of the same country assisted in disintegrating the national cohesion of the Afghans as a nation. It was a highly dangerous and unpatriotic expediency, because, although it could, in certain circumstances, destroy the unity of the tribes against the Government, at the same time, in the long run, it would materially damage the national basis on which nationalism as a growing organism thrives and flourishes.

The resentment, at any rate, against the new laws of Amanullah sped apace, so that at one time the rebellious clans were well on the Ghazni-Kabul road, i.e. within

a measurable distance of the capital. By bribing or by promising the modification of reforms, Amanullah was successful in his policy of sowing dissension amongst his infuriated clansmen, and the Sulaiman Khail, therefore, was the first to submit. Mangals and Zadrans were also persuaded to cease fighting, more on account of the fact that a large number of their tribesmen had taken up temporary military employment with the King's forces than by being convinced of the fulfilment of Amanullah's promises regarding the removal or moderating of the hated reforms. Last of all, the Ghalzais laid down arms, because practically all the new laws were withdrawn by Amanullah.

On February 28th of the following year, however, the suppression of the revolt was celebrated with much pomp and display at Kabul. It is at this celebration that we find ex-Queen Suraya taking a definite part in State affairs, for she appeared at the steps of the Reception Hall—of course, very much veiled as yet—and made a speech congratulating the returned heroes of Khost. After that, she distributed the various prizes and decorations to those who had rendered conspicuous service during the revolt; then she gave some silver coins tied in a handkerchief to each soldier. The occasion was marked with the usual grandeur of Old Asia.

This over, Amanullah busied himself over other items of the programme. The construction work of the new capital at Daral-Aman was speeded up: handsome Government buildings and private houses in the modern style were erected on the heights of Paghman—the summer capital—some eighteen miles from Kabul. The proposals for the electric lighting of Paghman, Jalalabad and Kandahar were next examined, and due attention was given to the hydro-electric plant of Jabalus-Siraj, which is situated fifty miles from the capital. The passport system was reorganised, and steps were taken

to participate in the International Post and Telegraph Union.

The ultra-modern programme of Amanullah, and the speed at which he wanted his countrymen to move, necessitated the wholesale employment of foreign workers in a land where even now a European has not ceased to be a stranger. What with French and German teachers, Turkish instructors and Italian engineers, the capital city of the Afghans harboured scores of foreigners in its midst. The thoughtlessness of the Government in this regard placed Amanullah in an awkward predicament more than once with the Foreign Powers. One such example is noteworthy, which being that of Signor Dario Piperno, an Italian engineer, who shot dead an Afghan policeman. He was imprisoned, and when delay occurred in his trial, the idea of the fact that he, a white man, was in the prison of non-whites appalled him and made him lose his patience. He escaped to the frontier, aided, it was alleged, by the Italian Legation, but was recaptured and executed summarily, in spite of the fact that blood money—according to Afghan custom—was accepted by the murdered policeman's relatives. A protest from the Italian Government followed, severance of diplomatic relations was involved, for Rome is said to have confiscated something like a lakh of rupees which had been sent to purchase goods in Italy. But eventually the matter was settled. So also a German, Herr Sauer, although sentenced to four years' imprisonment, was pardoned by Amanullah.

The First Straying of Amanullah

Temporarily relieved from the internal difficulties and external complications, Amanullah in 1925 showed himself in a curious light. The reforms which occasioned a revolt barely six months ago in Khost, and which he had

recalled, were to be enforced once again: and more. He made it plain that he considered that the only people who resisted the innovations were the priests (Mullahs), and henceforth he declared a war on the clergy, inasmuch as he now addressed himself to the task of dethroning the hierarchy of the clergy—the clergy who were nipping the progress in the bud; and he would not tolerate it.

It cannot be that feelings leaped all of a sudden into his mind to carry through the modernisation programme at all cost, for his previous escapades show that he had the original germ always there, but had the wisdom to withdraw the new-fangled ideas as soon as he discovered that they would not graft. But evidently either he was not growing wiser with age and experience, or the Court surrounding him had so weakened his own ideals that they were all in all. In effect, both facts obtained.

Royal Orders were passed that women could and should go unveiled; that, on account of the fanatical tendencies of the students of Doubund Theological College, no one would be allowed to study there, nor anybody from that institution enter Afghanistan; that women could and should cut their hair (according to old Afghan tradition the hair of women was only cut if they were disgraced); that although wine-bibbing was prohibited, it should not be considered a capital offence; that soldiers were to be recruited by ballot; that Thursday should be the day of public holiday in place of the Moslem holiday on Friday as previously; that everybody must wear European clothes, such persons who did not dress in that fashion to be excluded from certain public parks and roads; that students would not be permitted to marry, and that soldiers should have nothing to do with the Mullahs and "spiritual guides."

By now, the Court of Amanullah was filled with all such men who cared more for their appointments, than

for the interests of the State. As there was no representative body to advise the King, nor even a Cabinet to check the passing of autocratic laws, or to function as a sort of connecting-link between the King and the people in case of any popular complaints, the Government of the country fell into the hands of a few self-seekers, whose one aim now was to suppress all complaints, and to please the ruler from morning till night with flattery regarding the excellence of his forward policy of Westernisation.

Here, therefore, we notice two very definite situations: on the one side we have the whole Afghan nation, which always preferred her time-honoured traditions and manner of living to most things exotic, fretting and complaining against such radical changes, and never securing a hearing from the monarch, because he could be approached only through the head of a department, against whom complaint was to be made, with the consequence that, in place of the grievance reaching the ears of the King, the one who dared to complain was further harassed by the department concerned. On the other hand, the King, thus isolated from the public, pushed on with his modernisation work, through which alone, he thought, the people of Afghanistan could survive the Western impact. His favourites were those who bared the faces of their womenfolk, and drove in expensive motor cars in the bazaars of Kabul; and upon reaching the Palace they talked to Amanullah on no matters of high politics, but regarding the new English suit that they wore, or a new blouse which had just reached them from Paris for their wives. Ridiculous though it may seem, it was nevertheless true.

When the Court life was thus vitiated, and a coterie of self-seekers had surrounded Amanullah, it is not difficult to imagine that the matters of State, both in Kabul and the provinces, were handled with ruthlessness equalled

only by the days of the Dark Ages of Asia, when no man dared call his soul his own.

The question of maladministration is worthy of particular attention, and the subject may be reduced to a formula: the King's mind was filled with ultra-modern reforms; the people, whilst agreeing to wholesome improvements, hated innovations which cut right across their religious and traditional ideas. Of this the King was in part informed, and when informed, he set it at naught; and was determined to fight it out. The Ministers of the realm, being inefficient workers themselves who could be so easily replaced by better workers and certainly more honest men, took good care to malign the good name of all those who might perform the State duties with more wisdom, and in self-defence, so to speak, worked hand in hand at the Court in pursuance of their disgraceful craft of bribe-taking and place-seeking. The officers appointed by them, either in the central government or in the provinces, were naturally chosen from amongst their own kind; and who, let it be noted, had a working arrangement regarding a share in the bribery which they were to take when holding the various appointments. It was then an open secret that a Governor of a province sent regularly so much per cent. of his " yearly takings " to a Minister at Kabul. If he delayed sending it, his substitute was on his way from the capital within a week. It is, therefore, on record that some Government officials used to " make " eighteen to twenty lakhs of rupees—between twenty to thirty thousand pounds—during their tenure of office. The case of the Governor of Herat is a notable example.

This system of bribery was, of course, on a sliding scale, with the result that from the Minister down to the office boy, the " Kamai " or " earning " was rife throughout the kingdom. I well remember the case of a Mirza, or a petty clerk, who kept putting off the writing of an

express order for days for no apparent reason. The client could not understand the delay till a "well-wisher" whispered the reason. He looked at the ink-pot of the scribe: "Your ink has dried up," remarked the client, "may I put some water in the ink-pot?" Permission being given, the ink-pot was taken out of the room and five silver coins were put into it along with water. When the ink-pot thus replenished was returned, the scribe, dipping his pen in the ink, said: "This is a better colour," and the work which had hung fire for days was done within three minutes.

At another time, some purchases were to be made from India. Tenders were called. The work, however, was given, not to the one who offered the best terms, but to the Hindu merchant who adorned the official's finger with a diamond ring. But there is even a better illustration of these unspeakable robberies, when police officers kept regular gangs of thieves in their employ. First, the house of a merchant or well-to-do man was burgled, the spoils were, of course, divided amongst the members of the police; and, in the morning, arrests of other wealthy people of the town were made, who were released after bribes had been extorted from them. Sometimes appointments were sold for so much, because they were to "yield" so much yearly.

It is natural that all precautions be taken by such traitors in order to keep their appointments secure, for people's tongues will wag, notably outside Afghanistan. The most potent means for discrediting Afghans outside Afghanistan was to style them as British spies, so that they should never be allowed to enter Afghanistan and serve their country. One very remarkable instance is in my mind when in India. A poor but intelligent young Afghan was constantly disallowed to proceed to Kabul, for the ground was paved against him by labelling him to be in the pay of the British. The only evidence against

him was that the Mullah of a mosque in Simla thought the young Afghan to be something of a mystery; also he had been to England, and, consequently, must be a British spy. Over and above all, the Ali brothers—who once were intensely anti-British and against whom this young man had protested—did not consider him to be trustworthy: of course, with the irony of fate attached to it that the late Mr. Mohamed Ali—once the slayer of the British, who had spoken against this Afghan—came to England, and with tears in his eyes begged the British bury him in the land of the free Englishmen. Still, their words were the words which Amanullah's bribe-taking officers accepted to ruin the career of that young Afghan. Later, of course, the tragedy of the case rose higher, when the British also took him to be an Afghan spy. Thus it will be seen that, on account of the fact that useful men were not able to go to Afghanistan to serve their country, all sorts of devices were resorted to. The usual method of espionage in India, on which the Afghan officials based their reports to Kabul during Amanullah's time, was to set one's cook to the job of finding out all about high Indian politics which he could hear in the bazaars. In this, of course, the officers acted on the pattern provided by their unfortunate King himself, for, as related elsewhere, in dealing with the Third Afghan War, did not Amanullah depute motor drivers to the significant task of gathering reliable political news ?

Add to this the distress imposed on the high and low regarding recruiting for the Afghan army. During the reign of Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan, the grandfather of Amanullah, a system of recruitment prevailed called the Qomi system, under which each clan was required to give so many young men for the army, according to their numerical strength. During the time of Habibullah Khan the method was changed to what was termed as Hasht Nafari or every eighth man, which meant that

every eighth man was called up, and this system remained in force during the first few years of Amanullah's régime, until he ordered that recruitment should be made by ballot, that is, the names of all the men of military age were to be written on small pieces of paper and drawn, like a lottery. Should anyone wish to have himself excused from the service, he was required to buy himself off by paying 500 rupees. Later this sum was increased to 1,000 and then to 1,500, till men of means and responsibility told Amanullah that the system was un-Islamic and wrong, and even if the sum were increased to ten times as much they would pay it rather than have their sons do menial work in the army.

Presently, it was resolved by the Government that, no matter what the offer of the person whose name had been drawn in " Pishk," or the lottery for military service, he was not to be excused from service, and must report himself to the authorities. The crowning mischief of this system was that no extra care was exercised in this lottery, which soon dwindled down to the most cruel and dishonest practices. For instance, if a man quarrelled with one in the know, the next you heard of it was that the lottery was cast overnight, and possibly the only son of that person was the one whose name appeared on the " piece of paper in the hat," so to speak, with the result that the military police were at his door in the morning, demanding that the son of such person should accompany them to the barracks.

Bribery, too, was rife in that direction, and those in charge of " Pishk " department had the habit of retiring fairly early from the service with a good bank balance. The system had incensed the public to an unimaginable degree: and yet no word could reach up to Amanullah, surrounded as he was with so unspeakable a gang.

To Western readers it must be made clear that the reason of this was not that the Afghans desisted from any military training, for the one thing that an Afghan will take to most readily is the craft of war; but, unlike other countries, the idea of aristocracy in Afghanistan is so firmly established that it would be unthinkable for a Sirdar's son to be a military groom in the same stable as the son of his gardener. Imagine what it would have been if a Scottish laird's son could be a private in the same billet where the gatekeeper's son was also a private, and both went to their respective homes after their training. Even during the Great War, amongst seemingly cosmopolitan races of Europe, due regard was paid to these social distinctions. How much more was it the case in Afghanistan of hoary traditions!

And the unhappy "Pishk," the Lottery Order, as it was called, was further resented by the fact that the ignorant recruiting officers took delight in deputing the most menial work to the sons of the aristocrats to satisfy their vanity of position. Nothing indicated this more decisively than an incident during the Afghan revolution, when the people of the Southern Province demanded from the Kabul official the surrender to them, not only of rifles and ammunition, but even of the office furniture, including pen and ink—acting on the assumption that as Amanullah was no more, the King's officers were no longer officers. The above-mentioned articles, therefore, were regarded not as the property of the nation, but of an individual, Amanullah. This assumption, however, was not without foundation, for the officers appointed by Amanullah acted as rulers over the people and not as servants of the public, as representatives of the King who rules and not necessarily serves his nation. A contrast is provided by both the action and the public pronouncement of His Majesty Mohamed Nadir Shah (the present Afghan King), who said: "I am first a

servant of the nation, second a servant of the nation, and last the servant of the nation."

Enough has been said to prove that a great and courageous experiment, which Amanullah started in 1919, had dwindled down and been disgraced both by him and his ministers within six years of his reign, and, to the shame of the Afghan nation, become the laughing-stock of the world. What with increased taxation, the importance of luxuries, the corruption of the Government, tyranny of the worst type, the encouragement of immodest manners, disregard of religious susceptibilities, and over it all making the service of the country water-tight by styling useful Afghans as pro-British and thus anti-Afghan, all contributed to the crisis, the like of which has never been seen in the turbulent history of my country.

Nor must it be forgotten that the hold that the priestly class had over the minds of the Afghans cannot be vindicated entirely; but the way of tackling the circumscribed outlook, if any, engendered by the Mullahs, lay in quite a different field than that chosen by the misguided Amanullah. It is an open secret that Amanullah used to invite the Mullahs to his Court only to crack personal jokes at the priest's expense. His antiquated dress, his beard, his shaven head, his enormous turban, his voluminous trousers, his rosary, were all made the objects of ridicule to the public. There are few men who can stand this sort of public foolery, and I do not know of any in Afghanistan who relish that kind of personal joke: the more especially when thousands of Amanullah's own soldiers considered the particular divine as their spiritual guide, and thousands more who, in the outlying mountain villages, could hear of the court life only through their priest. Surely no one can imagine that when such members of the clergy returned to their homes and were surrounded by stalwart Afghans—who

will lay down their lives at the mere mention of the word of the Mullah—they praised Amanullah and his retainers.

No one holds any brief for a fanatical Mullah who is not versed in the lore of Islam, and who frowns down upon all modern improvement, looking at the mere shell and forgetting the real spirit of Islam. That such fanatical men have impeded the progress of nations before in other countries, even in Europe, is not entirely an unknown fact; but you cannot ride roughshod over people's age-long allegiance to the clergy, however detrimental their preaching may be to the advancement of a country. To break their spell requires much wisdom, and every step has to be carefully measured. The only method by which Amanullah could have rid his country from the thraldom of the clergy was by having the lot of them massacred wholesale by one stroke. That would have been the question of " sink or swim Amanullah," but it would have been both dastardly and impracticable, and the conscience of Afghanistan would have been outraged by the killing off of some of the very holiest in our land. Yet Amanullah adopted the worse plan, that is, of publicly denouncing the Mullahs and ridiculing them before their adherents, which gave them every chance to speak adversely of the King and his advisers.

Thus these somersaults in politics and reforms furnish a unique instance in the world's history, where a monarch, after receiving an excellent chance to make good, and having a real place in the annals of Afghanistan as the winner of Afghan independence, so completely changed the destiny of his people, and was indirectly the cause of so much bloodshed and misery of a very lovable people. If he could have pondered awhile over what might happen to him through his recklessness, he need not have uttered these words upon leaving Kandahar as an exiled King: " So, this is the end of my

ten years' reign; that I leave my country as a rejected monarch . . . but why ?" he asked. If his vision had been left clear by the Court hangers-on, perhaps he would have received the explanation of this question years ago whilst still a ruler of a flourishing kingdom at Kabul; but that was not to be.

FIRST PHASE OF AMANULLAH'S DECLINE

CHAPTER XI

FIRST PHASE OF AMANULLAH'S DECLINE

HAVING thus set a stage of glorious personal edification for himself and his Court favourites, Amanullah felt in 1927 that the time had arrived for him to make his grandeur known to the people of the West, and, perchance, to learn more as to what might be done to hasten further the modernisation programme. Orders were sent far and wide, it is alleged, to the Governors and officers to collect three years' taxes in advance to defray the King's expenses of a European tour. Contributions were also to be asked from wealthy merchants towards that end. But voluntary contributions apart, Amanullah's officers had considerable difficulty in collecting even one year's dues in advance, for if the people had money it had already been squeezed out of them for various demands for items of modernisation, such as the building of the new capital and much else which, in the eyes of the people, was a sheer waste of public money. The machinery devised by the officers to extort money from the people had, however, become so perfect that a large sum was collected to pay for the King's journey to France and beyond.

To cut the story short, Amanullah accompanied by his favourites hied forth westwards by way of India. On the British frontier, and wherever he travelled through India to the shores of Bombay his reception was one of magnificence never before equalled. And in Bombay, whilst still the guest of the British administration,

Amanullah made a diplomatic blunder. A big public function was organised in his honour in that city; all the dignitaries were present, including the British Governor, when he urged upon the Indians the necessity of severing their connections with England, and very pointedly attacked the clergy who impeded the progress of the East. He played Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha of Turkey, without either the Ghazi's prestige or stamina, or with the background which new nationalist Turkey had on the advent of the Turkish hero. The two men were poles apart. That public speech, of course, created a very bad impression for its indelicacy, inasmuch as it was tantamount to interfering in the domestic politics of a foreign and friendly country.

The first shock which he gave to the Moslem world was when he and his queen landed on the Egyptian soil dressed in European garb. Queen Suraya's unveiled face, of course, sent a nasty thrill through the Arabic-speaking peoples, who expected to see a real Afghan patriot, a true follower of the Mecca Law. Thence Amanullah and his consort journeyed to Italy, France, England, Russia, Turkey and Persia, and were received with great pomp and show wherever they went, the details of which are too well known in England to require elaborate mention here. Suffice it to add, however, that in every European country Amanullah's one great endeavour was to show that he was the embodiment of ultra-Westernisation.

It has often been mentioned that it was the European tour of Amanullah which " turned his head," but facts belie that contention. It may be true that whilst travelling in the West he saw the evidence of material progress and its " manufacture " at a closer range, and hence may have been further convinced that those methods could be grafted successfully into his own country; yet it is beyond dispute that his mind towards that end was,



EX-KING AMANULLAH WITH HIS CONSORT AT OXFORD ON THE OCCASION OF RECEIVING THE HONORARY DEGREE AT THE UNIVERSITY

indeed, already made up, as we see in the innovations which he introduced into Afghanistan years before his tour abroad, and on which he insisted before ever he saw Europe. One thing, however, is certain, that as a result of that tour, his resolve to quicken the pace of modernisation amongst the Afghans received a decided impetus.

In passing it must also be noted that he deputed the work of the State to a Vakil or his principal favourite, one Mohamed Wali. Even then people were doubtful of Amanullah's wisdom regarding his leaving the kingdom at a time when his subjects were not pleased with him: but, of course, Amanullah was not aware of, or purposely shut his eyes to, the ugly facts which obtained at home. Meantime, the Vakil Mohamed Wali was busy filling his pockets, and incidentally encouraging the brigand chief Habibullah—Bacha Saquo—to undermine the authority of the Government. The intensity of sordid behaviour during this period had attained a degree which it is repugnant for the Afghans to recall. Twice did the brigand chief, Bacha Saquo, come within a few miles of Kabul during Amanullah's absence; and twice did Amanullah's representative turn him away, telling him not to believe in Amanullah's word if he valued his life, and advising him not to submit to the Government.

As soon as Amanullah reached Herat in the autumn of 1928, after his travels through Persia, where the Shah had requested him to have Queen Suraya's face veiled, the much-travelled Afghan King was impatient to reach his capital, in order to launch his new schemes with fresh vigour and insistence. Within a few days of his arrival home, a large gathering of favourites was convened at Kabul, and various new reforms after the European fashion were discussed, the most important from his point of view being the inauguration of an era

by which " the face of the Afghans " was to be changed, and that at once. In a day or two orders were posted on all public highways that everybody was to wear Darashi or European dress and English hats; and that women should go unveiled. The Queen was unveiled in a public gathering; a batch of girls were paraded out, who were to start immediately to be educated at Constantinople. The police were ordered not to allow anyone in certain parks and on some roads without English clothes.

Most ridiculous incidents were witnessed during that time. Stalwart peasants with the free gait of the highlanders, dressed in their long flowing garb, on approaching the gateway, were seen carrying a parcel of clothes under their arms. As soon as they saw a policeman, up went their arms into the English jackets, English trousers were pulled on over voluminous Afghan trousers, much bashed bowler hats were plunked on their heads at all angles, converting them into awful guys. And all this the people hated from the bottom of their hearts. The news soon spread like jungle fire through the length and breadth of the kingdom as to how Amanullah was enforcing un-Afghan ways upon the people. The priestly class were not slow to pronounce it to be nothing but the sheer work of Satan—for they had an old score to wipe out with Amanullah. Had not their beards been pulled in public, and before the members of their congregation were they not taunted and jeered at ? Were not their allowances curtailed or stopped ?

The people, too, awaited this chance, for were they not over-taxed ? Were they not subjected to all sorts of cruelties ? Were bribes not taken by the officers as almost a right ? The nobles were not inactive, for had their advice not been disregarded ? Had they not been subjected to all sorts of indignities by the courtiers ? The army, too, was restless, for had Amanullah not broken

his word by not giving them twenty rupees a month, as he promised; let alone the fact that they had not received any pay at all for months together; and were not their uniforms in tattered condition, and did not their officers demand a commission on the soldiers' salaries ?

With these factors as a background, it can be readily understood that the smouldering embers required only a breath to fan them into flames; and that breath came soon enough. The reaction came from the Eastern Province, from amongst the Shinwari tribes. In an ordinary atmosphere, it could have been smothered with ease and dispatch, but matters had reached a state when a trial of strength between the people and the King was to be: and, as in all similar cases in the world's history, the people won.

The incident in itself was small. A party of Koochi tribesmen were passing the Shinwari country. As they had merchandise of considerable value, they had taken the precaution of arming themselves a good deal in self-defence. During their passage through a defile they espied a party of Shinwari tribesmen, also armed to the teeth. The Koochis, mistaking the Shinwaris for brigands, opened fire upon them and killed and wounded many. Soon the news travelled to adjoining Shinwari villages; the Koochis were surrounded, bound, and brought before the local officer of Amanullah. The officer promised to investigate the matter, and imprisoned the Koochis. But something transpired in the night between the officer and the murderers, so that those who had killed the Shinwaris found themselves free men in the morning, and went their way, after being relieved of ten thousand rupees by the officer.

This so infuriated the people of Shinwar that they foreswore vengeance on the dishonest officer, and resolved to take the law into their own hands, for they knew that if

they complained to Kabul, then the central government there, according to its well-known crookery, would send their application to no one else for inquiry but the person against whom they had registered the complaint. As to the King, he, of course, was quite unapproachable: in any case, he was too busy thinking out new schemes to modernise the people, by having them don European clothes.

The Revolution gets going

Soon the entire clan of Shinwar was bestirred; thousands gathered in battle array. Many of Amanullah's officers were sent to quieten the disturbance, and all of them were imprisoned by the rebels: till the original offending officer, too, fell into their hands, and, after being roughly handled, was imprisoned. The revolt gathered momentum. But at a large Jirgah or clan gathering of the Shinwari, the point was discussed whether, in view of the fact that the offending officer was sufficiently punished by them, it was worth while to continue the revolt. After some dissenters were silenced, it was unanimously agreed that, as they had already challenged Amanullah, a reprisal was sure to follow, but, in any case, his Government had so greatly distressed them that it was their duty to evict him from the throne; and all the "infidel ways" which had invaded his court they considered chiefly due to the family of the Foreign Minister, Mahmood Tarzi, who, with his daughter, Queen Suraya, was responsible for the shameless practice of baring the faces of women and much else which was repugnant to them. As one man they all voted for war against Amanullah. The priests, naturally, were not silent on such occasions.

The disintegrating influences which were at work at the Court now showed to the full how greatly they

misunderstood the significance of a national cohesion, for the nefarious practice of encouraging clan against clan was resorted to. Arms and ammunition were at once sent from Kabul to be distributed amongst the Surkh Roodi, Chaparhari, Lugmani and other tribes, who were incited to battle against their neighbours on behalf of Amanullah. The Shinwari deputations were sent far and near to persuade the other tribes to revolt, for now the rebels had attacked the Government armoury at Kahi and had captured a large amount of war material. The deputations of the rebels were received with favour everywhere, because the discontent was general practically in all parts of the country, and no one was pleased with Amanullah's régime.

At last, the entire Eastern section of the realm was in open revolt. The caravan route through the Khyber Pass was closed, and the Shinwar attitude so greatly menaced the central government that Amanullah dispatched emissaries to open peace negotiations with the rebels. Before any useful outlook could be seen, the rebels attacked and captured Jalalabad, the capital of the Eastern Province, and threatened to march to Kabul, unless their demands comprising twenty-one clauses were met forthwith, amongst which the most important were the expelling of Queen Suraya and her family from Afghanistan, the resignation of Amanullah, the non-acceptance of his heir-apparent, the removal of all of his ministers from their offices, and the alterations of reforms.

The First Attack of the Brigand Chief

Matters were thus drifting from bad to worse in the Eastern Province when a new curse descended upon Kabul. This was in the shape of a man, low born and

ignorant—a water-carrier's son, known as Bacha Saquo, who had gathered a large following of brigands in the Afghan highlands of Kohistan. All of a sudden, he, with his three hundred cut-throat followers, began to snipe the capital, and attacked it several times. Practically all the standing army was now engaged against the Shinwaris in Jalalabad area, and Kabul was virtually defenceless. For two or three days Amanullah's capital witnessed scenes which will not be readily forgotten. Every moment the brigand's hordes were expected to reach the battlements of the citadel.

The defence of the city was hurriedly organised, for as there were no regular troops available, only eighty men could be mustered, consisting of the troopers of the King's bodyguard and the students of the Military Academy. Severe attacks were launched by the brigand, Bacha Saquo, and his men, and with great courage the small band of Royalists repulsed them. Until the evening the desultory fighting continued in the proximity of the city. Then night fell, and the giant town lay at the mercy of the invaders. With sleet and rain and icy winds lashing, the eighty-odd defenders of Kabul made Amanullah realise what it meant to be friendless, and to have so lost the confidence of his people that defenders could not be summoned even for the capital city. The whole of Kabul that night watched and waited anxiously for the arrival of any relieving force, but as all communications, telephonic and telegraphic, were cut between the capital and south-east, the coming of immediate help seemed a forlorn hope.

Whether it was the intensity of cold or uncertainty of knowledge regarding the number of defenders in Kabul, the brigand, very fortunately for both Amanullah and the defenceless people of the city, did not show much activity at night; but vigorous fighting ensued at sunrise. The self-sacrifice of this brave band of eighty men

around Kabul against overwhelming odds should be an ever-shining page in the annals of contemporary Afghan history.

After a few hours, the brigand's men attained the adjoining tower of Shahr Ara, and occupied it. Amanullah's big guns now began to bombard it, and after repeated attacks of the Royalists, at last the brigands were dislodged. But they fled from this point, only to disperse around the town once again. The city was now properly panic-stricken, the gates of the citadel were closed, arms were distributed to the people of Kabul to defend themselves as well as they could, the merchants busied themselves in removing their goods, and the capital was surrounded by a "curse" which defied Amanullah's might.

Even at such an anxious time as this, Amanullah's attitude did not materially change; priest after priest was "put away" as spy or inciter of rebels; and due to the importance of the circumstances, nothing can give us a better picture of Amanullah's court than the following narrative of one who tried to patch up things, but failed:

"King Amanullah," he said, "thumped at the table saying that Kabul would fall when he was dead. Amidst the silence that followed, a Big Ben clock struck four; then, indeed, I realised how usefully I would have employed the time by thwarting the plans of at least one section of the revolutionaries, instead of endeavouring since midnight to reconcile the tribesmen with a monarch whose brain was eaten up by Westernisation.

"'As to you and your proposals,' he addressed me, 'both could go to where sinners are thrown over the burning faggots.'

"Knowing so well the result of the storm which was gathering in his eyes, I thought it best to rise, bow and retire.

" Dawn was already breaking as I shivered past the Palace gates and the chilly wind flapped about my great sheepskin coat, till I was down the river bend. My bones ached with the fatigue of the previous day's hard gallop as I waited at the baker's shop for my companion, who, I knew, would be sleeping in the adjoining mosque. Neither of us, of course, dared go home, for we were supposed to be at Jalalabad, and this was an especial mission. The baker's shop was an unpretentious enough place. From what I could see of my companion at the distance, I felt that all was not right. Drawing near me at the oven-side he blurted out, ' I would spit on thy beard,' without as much as listening to what I had to say about my conference with the King. ' I would spit on thy beard,' he repeated, ' for having anything to do with Amanullah. Have you heard the latest ? ' He was hoarse with emotion. Then we went to an adjoining mosque.

" One is not expected to speak in the Prayer Hall," he continued, " and when worshippers go in and out of the mosque, they may only catch unreliable scraps of conversation; and so I thought that what he had heard was little better than bazaar gossip; but when he told me that the Holy Priest of our own native glens was killed, then my blood was up. That was the third Mullah of repute to go on a journey from which men do not return. And no more than three hours ago I was actually exhorting Amanullah to accept the terms of the clansmen, and, by just relaxing his grip upon the clergy, receive the unqualified submission of the recalcitrant tribes of the Eastern Provinces: and I, the bearer of guarantees of men who were marching upon the capital.

" Presently two other men joined us and helped in finishing the contents of our teapot. They were Oghans of the Kabul uplands, and right enough one of them

showed me Amanullah's order which they found upon one of the three soldiers whom these men had shot after they found that the Holy Mullah had been done to death by them. It ran: 'The Mullah is to be taken to (a particular village) on Friday midnight, escorted by three soldiers. The soldiers only are to reach the destination of the journey.'

"Without making anything out of it, and puzzling my brains as to whether a civil war could yet be circumvented, we sat drinking cup after cup of tea till late in the forenoon, in the semi-darkness of the alcove of the mosque. The crowd thickened in the bazaar for their morning shopping. Anon a sound struck upon our ears—a sound of rattling of chains.

"'Make way for the unfaithful,' shouted the soldiers, 'Make way for the disloyal,' they called out to the people as the procession of soldiers and chained priests passed on through the bewildered crowd. They were being taken to the artillery ground to be tied to the mouths of the cannons and blown up. These were the Mullahs who were alleged to have incited the Shinwaris against King Amanullah, so it was on the cards that the unpopular monarch must inflict an exemplary punishment.

"My blood froze at the thought of it; and although in my day I have witnessed many gruesome punishments, for instance, of imprisoning a robber in a cage and letting him die there, yet I could not bring myself to think that these priests were deserving of that fate. Not only did I not approve of it, but also the people of the capital could brook it no longer. The shops were closed in protest. Mosques were thronged with worshippers praying that good guidance might be bestowed upon Amanullah. You could hear wailing sounds coming from the women's courtyards everywhere, though the Afghan women do not cry easily. An awe-inspiring silence descended upon the city, as of mourning.

" The same night my companion and I were well beyond the cantonment area of Kabul, riding post haste to see whether we could save further bloodshed. Thrice the scouts of Amanullah opened fire upon us unknowingly, and we, of course, returned the compliment, till my companion's horse was shot down under him, and I had to give him a lift as well as I could. Within five hours we sighted the red glow of distant bonfires, and as we negotiated the last bend there was no mistaking that the whirring sound up above was of aeroplanes. In a trice explosions of aerial bombs could be heard; but, thanks to the anti-aircraft guns, those planes did not hover long enough to kill more than three mules and two men.

" Upon arrival at the camp, I pleaded with the rebel chiefs as I had done with King Amanullah to save splitting the country into so many warring camps. But their minds were made up. The next day was fixed for the final march upon Kabul. There could be no peace with Amanullah; and when I again interceded, I found them adamant in their resolve. I replied that I had eaten the salt of the Mohmandzai Dynasty, and hoped that I might be saved the ignominy of fighting against Amanullah.

" ' But would you countenance the killing of holy men ? ' thundered the Chief at me, ' or of shaving off the beards of honourable old men, throwing off the turbans in the gutter and yet call yourself a Moslem and an Afghan ? '

" That made me both think and act, for, after all, I had seen savagery with my own eyes at Kabul. And yet I said: ' I will make another attempt at peace-making.' They were exchanging shells on the upper ridges of the capital when I once again entered the city.

" Would you believe that within three days old and immovable Kabul could change so rapidly! It was a

different city. Everywhere you saw barbed-wire entanglements. Amanullah was afraid to ride in the streets. Clumps of men watched the Arg movements, police were posted at every corner, soldiers forced the shopkeepers to open the shops; milk you could not buy for love or money, bread was not sold.

" Then in the afternoon the troopers of the bodyguard revolted; they could not get their pay. There was no money to pay them. A humorous drama was that the Hindu money-lenders would not lend money on European clothes, till towards the evening bread riots in the lower bazaars brought out the mounted police—and yet the crowd would not disperse. All the while the roar of the guns, the whirring of aeroplanes and the click-click of the snipers' bullets could be heard drawing nearer and nearer the town—till, in the evening, they piled the European hats and set the stack on fire before the Royal Palace. They were shouting like madmen, denouncing foreign methods of dress and social habits which had been imposed upon them."

It is very strange, too, that after abdication, Amanullah stated that he had never insulted nor caused to be killed any member of the clergy, till the important Kabul publication entitled *Tardid Shaeyat Batla Shah Makhlo* pointed out his guilt in relation to such distinguished Divines as the late Haji Abdur Razaq Khan, and Molvi Fazal Rabbi, both of whom he had imprisoned; and the execution of Syed Ismail. Also at the Jirgah of 1303, the above-mentioned document asserts that Amanullah is alleged to have publicly shown disrespect towards the wives of the Prophet Mohamed: and many other indignities and cruelties by him are proved by the above-named Kabul publication, which lends additional realism to the narrative of the men who sought to bring about peaceful relationships between the misguided monarch and his people. Amanullah had,

however, so definitely offended the susceptibilities of the nation that one and all were working to expel him and to dismantle the orgy of hated Westernisation to which his Government gave birth. Meantime, Kabul was in the throes of a civil war within and without.

At last some Waziri tribesmen came to the rescue of the people. Assisted by the young military students and the remaining troopers of Amanullah's bodyguard, a fair number of men now defended the city against the brigand Bacha Saquo, who had spread his men from Doukhtar Kabul to Bagh Bala, Nouburja and Kotal Khair; and vigorous attacks and defence continued, during which many Royalists were killed, and the brigand chief, Bacha Saquo, was wounded by shrapnel. The surrounding villages of Kabul, too, caught the infection of disloyalty, for a number of the peasants came with their headmen to get rifles and ammunition in order to fight for the King, notably one Ghulam Husain—but, in place of assisting in repelling the brigands, no sooner had they returned to their homes than they started to harass the Government's troops themselves.

Reports were also received that the brigand chief, Bacha Saquo, expected to receive help from his home area, in the uplands of Afghanistan, and that assisted by them a determined effort would be made by him to drive Amanullah out of the kingdom: and, although he was unsuccessful in executing his plan of entering Kabul, his threat to the city remained as potent as before.

The Court and the King were now thoroughly nervous. There were the Shinwaris in the east, who had already dismantled his authority in Jalalabad area; the Southern Province was with the rebels; the brigands so definitely threatened the capital, and the rest of the country was sulky.

Amanullah was in this predicament when one day the people saw him emerge from the Arg citadel to



THE PRESENT AFGHAN RULER H.M. MOHAMED NADIR SHAH GHAZI, WITH HIS BROTHER ON THE DAY OF HIS ARRIVAL AT KABUL AFTER SUPPRESSING THE REVOLUTION

address a public meeting. At mid-day in the public park at Kabul he thus addressed the men of the capital:

" Ever since winning the National Independence for you, my one aim has been to introduce you to the whole world: but these troubles make me feel small in the eyes of foreign nations. Where am I to get men to defend the integrity of the system of the Government ? It is essential that order should be maintained in the kingdom. Why do you not come into the field to help in this cause ? The arms which have been distributed amongst you are for no other purpose than this."

After that, he complained bitterly against the adverse propaganda against him, which had been started in the country; he also added that he did not order the veil of the women to be abolished, and concluded by reposing his hope in the army—the army which was already disgruntled, ill-paid, ill-clothed and ill-fed. Many people however, were not slow to take advantage of the occasion to protest that things had come to this pass on account of the fact that the public voice could not reach him through the suppressing attitude of his ministers; to which even then Amanullah turned a deaf ear.

The situation was drifting daily from bad to worse. Murders, robbery in the streets of Kabul, the attack from the brigands, the cutting off of all telephonic and wireless communication between the capital and the outside world, the bread riots, the closing of shops, had ushered in a dreadful era in Amanullah's headquarters.

In these dreadful circumstances of insecurity, the foreign residents in Kabul, too, were not a little disturbed. Most of them took refuge within the four walls of their respective Legations; but the British women and children were removed from Afghanistan to India in aeroplanes two days before the Christmas of 1928.

Early Escapades of the Brigand Chief

The brigand Bacha Saquo, Habibullah, who ultimately sat on the throne vacated by Amanullah, has a life story rich in sheer lawlessness and marauding, which is to be reviewed here for a better appreciation of his activities as the brigand-king of Kabul.

Of low birth, he belonged to Kohistan or the highlands on the north of Kabul. He once took domestic service with a Malik Mohsin of Kalkan, where, on being convicted for petty pilfering, he was made to leave the place, after bribing the police of Amanullah. Then, arriving at a different part of the country, he enlisted in the army and fought in the ranks of Amanullah's troops against the Maugals during the first revolution. On the return of the forces after that southern insurrection at Jalalabad, he and his fellows quarrelled with other soldiers, and were imprisoned. From this prison he escaped and went straight to Kabul on his way to his native glens of Kohistan. A few marches north of Kabul, some robbers waylaid him, but he being in possession of a better rifle, and a trained soldier, killed a robber and returned to the capital with the brigand's rifle, expecting reward from the Government. There he was spotted as an escaped prisoner, and orders were issued for his arrest, when, again escaping, he was in his highland village within a few days.

A never-do-well and a desperado like him soon gathered a following of brigands, and started a career of freebooting and cutting the caravan routes. Scores of expeditions were sent to capture him from Kabul, but were of no avail, and it was not till he looted a large sum on the way to Kabul from a northern province of Amanullah that his popularity amongst the brigand type increased a hundredfold, and he was acknowledged as the brigand chief by a band of tough warriors who would

shoot to kill and never be sorry for it, because Habibullah, or Bacha Saquo, their brigand-chief, ordered so.

The people of the surrounding villages of Kabul, which are close to the highlands where this brigand gang operated, were frankly not interested in taking steps to check the brigands' escapades, because it meant acting on behalf of Amanullah's Government—a Government of which they were thoroughly tired. But pressure was brought to bear upon Amanullah to do something towards the raids of Habibullah Bacha Saquo, whose power on the northern confines was supreme. The favourite-ridden court of Amanullah displayed the weakness which all such courts have of making overtures to the brigand. As a price of the surrender of his "business" and promise of service to Amanullah, the brigand demanded a military rank, personal protection, a certain emolument, a hundred rifles of ·303 bore, and two thousand rounds of cartridges to each rifle. These wishes of Habibullah were fully met, and henceforth the brigand-chief became the chief recruiting officer in the highlands for Amanullah. From there he began to send recruits to the capital to be trained and then sent to face the Shinwari rebels in the Eastern Province: but this was for a time only, for the brigand was on the warpath again. Money and ammunition was all that he wanted.

Whilst matters were assuming uglier aspects in the Jalalabad area, and there was a lull in other provinces, like a lull before a storm, a large section of the people of Tagab raised the standard of revolution. Publicly they declared their hatred of Amanullah and all he stood for, and stolidly refused to give any support to his régime, either by paying their land dues, or providing recruits. The fire blazed up anew.

Concurrently with this, large Jirgahs or tribal gatherings in Jalalabad area drafted their eighteen demands, to which the people of the Southern Province of Kanda-

har also set their seal. Surrounded by hostile forces on the north, east and south, Amanullah could not but agree to the eighteen demands, which meant not only his recall of all of his reforms, but his support to the more conservative traditions of the country, which ran thus:

1. None shall utter blasphemy.
2. An elected Parliament will be formed.
3. A public prosecutor will be appointed.
4. The Afghan girls will be recalled from Constantinople.
5. The teachers of Douband will be allowed to enter Afghanistan.
6. Bribery will be energetically checked.
7. Women will not be unveiled, nor cut their hair.
8. No certificates of teachers will be required.
9. The military recruitment will be on the tribal basis, that is, Pishk, lottery system, will be abolished.
10. Wine-bibbing will be severely punished.
11. Religious overseers will be appointed in each province.
12. The public holiday will be observed, not on Thursday, but on the Islamic holiday of Friday.
13. Soldiers will have the right to have spiritual guides.
14. European clothes shall not be worn by women.
15. Students will be allowed to marry.
16. Girls' schools suspended till the opening of the Parliament; also the women's suffrage movement.
17. People shall be allowed to take loans without the permission of the Government.
18. Men will be free to wear whatever dress they choose, so long as it does not outrage the religious susceptibilities.

By acquiescing to these requirements of the Shinwaris

and others, it will be noted that certain demands show the unmistakable hand of the Mullahs in them: and certain clauses, in fairness to the case, do really tend to stifle all forward movement: but just this goes to manifest the temper of the people, who wished to drive Amanullah completely out of the field. The King, however, would promise to do anything, and agreed to such a radical reversion of his policy. But whereas Amanullah had conceded to these demands, the people thought that, in effect, his attitude was only a time-saver, and was calculated to deceive them. The nation had lost all confidence in his words, the result being that, despite all the promises to abide by the wishes of the people, the revolutionaries gave no credit to him, and the revolt not only continued unabated, but spread further afield into the Western Province, where in Herat things had been quiet for a time.

An eye-witness of many of these episodes wrote of Kabul in those days with characteristic frankness:

" In this city to-day," he said, " is an aged, bearded Mullah, whom Amanullah, even when he was planning to steady his throne, insulted. That insult to the Mullah resulted in the defeat of Amanullah's last throw.

" Amanullah had ordered the old man to his Palace. To him there he said: ' Bring your daughter from the harem, and let her walk unveiled in the streets.

" ' You may speak frankly,' he said when the Mullah hesitated.

" Haltingly the old man spoke: ' It is enjoined upon all the faithful,' he said humbly, ' to have their women go veiled. And I must refuse, for I want to obey my God.'

" Amanullah exploded in a fury at the reply.

" ' Bring your God to me,' he thundered. ' This God who teaches you to war upon your King.'

" At that the old man burst into tears. He ignored a

sacred tradition of the Court by leaving the room without the Royal permission. From there he went straight to Herat in the West, where the soldiers were hotly discussing the question of aiding Amanullah in his attempt. They asked themselves the question—'Shall we fight against our co-religionists?'

"It was then the aged Mullah took a hand.

"'Any one who goes to Kabul or Shinwar to support Amanullah is no Moslem,' he cried. 'You do not receive your pay. Your uniforms are in tatters. The greater part of the wages you get you have to give to your officers. You have to sell your rations in the streets so that you may have shoes for your feet. Your officers force you to become brigands and raid the caravans and whip the merchants, taking the loot to them.'

"He told them how Amanullah was daily hanging the Mullahs, and shooting others from the cannon's mouth. . . .

"It was enough. The soldiers followed him to the house of the Governor. They dragged the Governor forth, and slew him. Yet they left alone a sister of Amanullah who was ill in Herat.

"As they searched the sister's house for Amanullah's father-in-law, they shouted: 'Kill the old infidel who brought the ways of the West here!' But the father-in-law had been warned. Dressed as a servant he escaped, making his way to Russia, and from there to Persia.

"The troops captured the officers who had forced them into brigandage, dragged them into the streets, and slew them, leaving the corpses in the gutter.

"In Herat, Amanullah, unaware of the movement against him, and giving no thought to his insult to the aged Mullah, was sending his officers out in aeroplanes he had bought from Germany with instructions to get reinforcements.

"These flying emissaries had definite orders 'not to

spare any Mullahs.' One of these betrayed his King and, reaching Herat before the revolt, revealed that the Governor of Herat had received his appointment by making a gift of a motor car to a favourite of Queen Suraya's court. That was the Governor who was slain and left in the street.

"When Amanullah heard mutterings of what had happened in Herat, he worked feverishly to bolster up his failing cause. He placarded the city with posters, apologising for his misdeeds and offering to surrender to the Mullahs. He agreed to everything—that schools for girls over ten years of age would be closed; that pictures would be removed from public buildings; that to wear European dress would become a criminal offence; that the importing of foreign goods would stop, or at least be highly taxed; that the soldiers would be paid regularly and allowed time for prayer."

BEGINNING OF THE END

CHAPTER XII

BEGINNING OF THE END

WHEN the general revolutionary conflagration eventually seized the Western Province of Herat as well, Amanullah's court was staggered, for the Shinwaris and men of Badakhshan in the east and south, and the brigand water-carrier's son from the north, were causing enough alarm without the western section of Herat. This last straw broke the camel's back: and one more effort was decided upon.

It was considered that, notwithstanding the fresh defeat of the Royal troops at Nimla on the high road to Kabul from the Eastern Section, if the greatest danger which threatened the capital from the north under the water-carrier's son could be averted, the situation might yet be saved. With this end in view, Ahmed Ali Khan was deputed to proceed to the highland in order to effect the speedy defeat of the brigands. The chief courtiers, still saturated with the aroma of Westernisation, advised the King to pursue the brigand from one side, and, on the other, informed the brigand to be on his guard and not to trust to Amanullah's words and promises. This last effort is so well described in an Afghan official book by Ahmed Ali Khan, who led the Royal troops against Bacha Saquo, the brigand-chief, that its translation deserves attention.

In his statement he reiterates that twice the Vakil or the King's representative at Kabul received offers of submission from the brigand-chief, and both times

Mohamed Wali, the King's Vakil, counselled him to go back to his highland, and continue his depredations, "for Amanullah's word," said the Vakil, "cannot be relied upon." Throughout this brigand's career of free-booting, the King's most trusted Vakil used to send rifles and ammunition to the chief of that gang; also he presented a valuable rifle to Bacha Saquo, which the brigand used to show to everybody upon becoming the King of Afghanistan.

To crown all this, Shair Jan, a close confederate of the brigand, was appointed the Governor of the brigand's province by the Vakil of Amanullah, which shows the height of treason against the State.

Ahmed Ali Khan, it should not be forgotten, had newly returned to Kabul after his four years' service in Berlin, and naturally was cautious in undertaking an expedition which did not augur well on account of the hatred which could be perceived against Amanullah amongst the people of the northern province; but yet he hied forth to the brigand's lair.

He convened a big Jirgah or tribal gathering. Some two thousand men assembled to hear what he had to say, and for two days and nights he continued his *pour-parlers* with them. Their Elders agreed to provide six thousand men to keep peace in the highlands, and seven hundred men were sent to Kabul as recruits for the Shinwari front to fight for Amanullah. Further, three proposals were made to the Elders: (1) To kill the brigand and his band and to receive one lakh of rupees as reward; or (2) To remove these brigands from amongst the general body of the highland men; or (3) To surrender these men to the Government on their own security. The Elders accepted the third proposal.

Seven hundred men gathered to see the two volumes of the Holy Koran, to which the pardon of the King in favour of the brigand and the brigand's signature to

cease his escapades were to be appended. The signature of the King was awaited for three days, for the two Holy Books had been sent to Kabul. At the Court, when the Korans were brought before Amanullah so that he might sign the pardon on the sacred Book of Islam and thus make the undertaking an inviolable one, the same court favourite, Wali—who helped the brigand secretly—did not allow Amanullah to sign, saying that it was much below a King to have a pact with a mere brigand. Even before the unsigned Korans reached the camp where Ahmed Ali Khan waited with the clansmen, the brigand-chief, Bacha Saquo, came and jeered at Ahmed Ali Khan.

"There were three men in the room," he grinned, "when the Korans were presented to Amanullah for signature. One of these three men has informed me that the King has not signed the Holy Book; and that I am to be careful of thee, oh Ahmed Ali Khan!"

The opportunity of any further *rapprochement* was utterly destroyed; the camp of the Royal troopers was surrounded, and Ahmed Ali Khan with his brother were thankful to escape with their lives. Meantime, the men whom he had sent to Kabul to be enrolled in the defence force against the Shinwari were not given arms at the capital, and returned to their homes only to swell the number of recalcitrants. On the following night the Royal troops on the other section of the highland were routed; and, although Ahmed Ali Khan could yet have changed defeat into victory by his skilful manœuvring, on reaching Kabul he was relieved of the command. The brigands now were already on the heights of Kabul. The last hour of Amanullah's régime had struck.

On the night previous to abdication, Amanullah sat till late with his brother, Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, discussing their respective plans. He knew Afghanistan did not want him, and he was making preparations accordingly.

The tick, tick of the machine-guns, the repeated rifle fire and an occasional booming of guns was heard as the two brothers sat in the Palace drawing-room writing and dictating under the light of the candelabra—lit, not by electricity, which had long before been interrupted by the brigand's bullets in the city—and then Amanullah went to dress and pack for a long journey in the small hours of that morning in the middle of January 1929. After a small breakfast, possibly the last breakfast that he would ever have in Afghanistan, and a brief good-bye, Amanullah leaped into his Rolls-Royce with a few retainers at 9 a.m., and sped fast southward to Kandahar. Few knew of his quiet departure.

Presently, a public notice was circulated summoning the people to the Dilkusha Palace. Hundreds and thousands came to listen to " an important announcement," as the official circular styled it. Sirdar Inayatullah Khan, the elder brother of Amanullah, and the real heir to the throne, appeared on the balcony; the Court Chamberlain bore a paper in his hand. People stood mute, while this, Amanullah's Proclamation of Abdication from the Throne of Afghanistan, was read out aloud to them. Amanullah renounced the kingship in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullah Khan: and till midday did the people come and go to the Palace, signifying their allegiance to the new King.

The same afternoon at three, a large delegation of Elders and clergy led by such Holy Sheikhs as Hazrat Mohamed Sadiq Khan started on motor cars towards the highlands. As soon as they reached the camps of the Royal army, they informed the soldiers that the matter of revolution had solved itself, because Amanullah had abdicated: and that they were now proceeding towards the opposing forces of the brigand. This news, however, did not produce the desired effect: for, so far as the highland cut-throats under the command of the water-

carrier's son were concerned, the matter was not settled.

The whole night fighting continued between the brigand's men and the Royal troopers, till towards the dawn a large body of the highlanders vigorously attacked the Kabul forces and broke their ranks. The city lay at the mercy of the brigand chief. Presently, the brigand's men had entered the city, and their commander, Syed Husain, was already motoring through the streets of Kabul. The citadel of Arg with the new King Inayatullah and his few retainers was besieged. After a short negotiation, Inayatullah, too, abdicated and, taking a British aeroplane, made for Peshawar in India, leaving a disgraced throne and an empty Treasury to the victorious hordes of barbarians, under the brigand chief, who had himself proclaimed King of all the Afghans as Habibullah Ghazi on January 17th, 1929, by occupying Kabul. And thus ends the last act of this tragic drama.

Can Asia be Westernised?

As the abdication of Amanullah was precipitated by his hurrying the pace in Afghanistan, it is pertinent here to examine why the introduction of Western methods in its entirety, and more especially the emphasis on its superficial aspects, will not—cannot—graft into the Eastern mind. A just appreciation of it is necessary here before proceeding to study other facets of that unfortunate King's career: for what follows after this chapter is but the description of the raging of a civil war, and its ultimate quelling through the remarkable efforts of His Majesty Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi.

The progress of these events in Afghanistan and in the East generally, therefore, justifies the discussion of the question: Can Asia be Westernised? Is it either possible or fitting to apply to the Eastern hemisphere the whole apparatus of Western civilisation without making allow-

ances for psychology and environment? Is even the partial adaptation of Occidental culture to Oriental life wise or politic? Would it not be more judicious, more scientific, to allow the East to develop in its own way and along its own lines, of course, under proper safeguards both administrative and commercial?

Seventy years of experience have demonstrated that Japan, although in some degree the most Westernised of Asiatic countries, is still, deep in her secret heart, just as Oriental as ever. I do not mean that she is barbarous. She is equipped with all the machinery of modern science yet her native art and culture flourish as richly as before. It is precisely, indeed, in the things that matter, in art, culture and religion that the West finds it impossible to make any impression on the East. And surely it is just through these very media that the East has made most impression on the West. Asiatic religion and art have practically conquered Europe. Christianity and esoteric Buddhism lie in one case at the foundation of Western institutions, and, in the other, behind your mysticism. If Asia has not profoundly affected European philosophy, it is simply because with her thought and faith are one, and she cannot comprehend Western division of what appears to her one indivisible whole.

And almost three centuries of experience in India surely proves that, despite the rule of a European bureaucracy of the most powerful character, that country is comparatively free from Western influence. Despite the effects of European administration, education and the introduction of Western manners and customs, India still remains India, in speech, in thought, in art, in habits of life. It is indeed much less affected by Occidental ideas than was Britain by Roman culture in the fourth century of this era.

The salient difference between Asia and Europe in the historical sense is that the former has already experienced

the lessons of civilisation, had, indeed, gone through a very large part of the process many centuries before Europe even approached its first lessons. The comparatively small size of Europe, the readiness of communication between her areas, her early command of the sea, rendered her more amenable to the influences of material culture. In the Roman Empire she possessed a wonderful model of administrative ability, the example of which leavened her whole polity. The spread of Christianity from Rome gave her an official unity of religious outlook which tempered the severity of Latin statesmanship and later feudal law. The temperate nature of her climate encouraged active habits of body and mind, and the northern Norman aristocracy which succeeded in imposing its rule on the majority of her populations possessed all the vigour of the sub-arctic environment whence it proceeded.

The Eastern arts introduced into its several countries were quickly adapted to the purposes of everyday life and manufacture through the eminently practical character of her peoples. At some time in the middle of the sixteenth century Europe conceived an even more decided preference for the material side of things. Her religion became subservient to practical issues, the mind of the European quickened to the rhythm of machinery. Wealth was no longer a thing to dream about, but to search for, to adventure after, to "make." Logic had seized upon the European, he became its slave rather than the master of dreams.

The development of the Oriental has been on wholly different lines. To begin with, he passed more rapidly through the intermediate stages between savagery, barbarism and semi-civilisation. When his great civilisations, those of Egypt, Babylonia and Persia, lapsed, he still retained a large measure of culture in certain areas, notably India and China, and these still remain as

exemplars of the ancient refinement, steadily disseminating the thought and psychology of the past.

But the ideals of Asia, like her geographical plan, are conceived on much vaster lines than those of the European; they are more immanent, more eternal in their general principles. They are concerned, in their highest aspect, with the things of the spirit rather than with those of the earth and the flesh. I say " in their highest aspect," because I am fully aware that in some things Asia is just as material and as terrestrially minded as Europe. But the salient difference between the two continents is that whereas Europe is almost wholly endeavouring to achieve what she believes to be progress by purely materialistic methods, through the aid of science and mechanical devices, Asia is very slowly but as certainly developing a great triumph of the human soul through the medium of psychic processes of thought. Extraordinarily slow as the process is, it is none the less sure.

It is probably as slow as that indicated in the ancient books of the Hindus, in which we are told that Arahatship or Buddhahood are to be reached only through untold centuries of meditation and right-thinking, and it is almost as certainly the realisation of the truth of some such soul-philosophy which cannot credit the rapid psychic growth of man, but believes it to be a thing of most gradual and almost infinitesimal advance, which inspires the Asiatic.

" The Waiting East "—that phrase, perhaps better than any other, describes Asia's position. But not wholly so, for she does not only wait. In thousands of homes, of temples, of monasteries, even in her dark forests and jungles, men are subjecting themselves to a painfully slow but most effective psychic discipline. They are not only waiting, they are striving with their souls rather than their bodies to achieve mental and moral perfect-

ness. To such men the merely material endeavours of European civilisation are as vanity and worse than vanity.

Of course, I know how impossible it is to justify, to bring home this point of view to most Europeans, who simply regard such an exalted psychic outlook with the supremest astonishment. Imbued by their materialism, they can only see in it something almost absurd, bizarre, selfish and unnatural. They believe that matter must first be conquered before soul can be considered. The Oriental, on the other hand, knows that through the development of soul matter *is* conquered. You cannot, he believes, achieve the conquest of the material by material means, as the European is trying to do. If you do attempt this, you yourself become material-minded, become smirched with matter, it clogs the wheels of your psychic progress.

But does the West know or care anything at all about psychic progress? Occasionally proofs that it does obtrude themselves, as in the extraordinary ebullition of sentiment on the suggested alterations in the English Prayer Book. But even there the weight of public and Parliamentary opinion was unfriendly to that transcendental philosophy which lies, according to the Eastern, at the very roots of man's hopes for spiritual progression.

Some European races, the Scots and Germans, for example, have at certain periods manifested a certain degree of interest in the transcendental, chiefly through the medium of what seemed to their neighbours an exaggerated concern in theology. But this never diverted itself into the channels of the higher criticism, and so grew even more materialistic than Catholicism or Anglicanism ever were. But the East has never been very disputatious regarding things spiritual, which it appears to have accepted more by a divine intuition than on the lower plane of reason.

Now let us see precisely how this lofty idealism con-

cerning the supernatural has affected Eastern civilisation in its common forms. One must frankly admit that this high and noble light has correspondingly dark and gruesome shadows—shadows of fear, of barbarism and of superstition. For just as lofty peaks throw a longer umbra into the deep valleys than the lesser hills, the heights of supernatural conquest seem to reveal a deeper gloom on their environment. Indeed, it is just because psychic endeavour has been so lofty in Asia that the great generality of its peoples are presently in such a condition of seeming abjectness. Terrified and abashed by the supreme difficulties of a quest to which only the noblest may appear as fitted, they shrink from the ordeal. There is scarcely any middle course in Asia between the heights of Nirvana and the depths of mental sordidness, and, perhaps, the barrier of caste has restrained many from making the attempt. Also superstition has triumphed through a process by which the highest believed the lower might benefit in a measure through the substitution of the milk of superstitious doctrine for that strong meat, of which only the few might partake.

But this notwithstanding, culture in the East has undoubtedly benefited from the exalted outlook of her best and noblest minds. One has only to consider the refined beauty of the best Indian or Persian art and the extraordinary culture of China to see that these could not have arisen out of æsthetic impulses alone, but must have been nurtured and gradually developed under the auspices of ideals much more spiritual than anything the West has to show, unless it be, perhaps, such occasional exceptions as the paintings of Murillo or the music of César Franck. For it is in spirituality that the West is unquestionably inferior to the East, in the exalted colour of the atmosphere which has been attained by the greatest Eastern minds, which is even to the Quietism of the

Occident as the peace of a mountain-top to an English spring morning. It will require centuries for the West to attain to those levels of perfect emotionless calm which the Orient had already achieved when Europe was still peopled by tattooed tribesmen.

It is difficult for a cultivated Oriental to comprehend the arguments of the Western that it would be to the benefit of Asia to adopt the Occidental mode of existence. The European points to such things as quick transit, sanitation, police and "settled government" as among the blessings bestowed by his civilisation. The amusing thing is that he possesses them himself only superficially, as the slums of any great European city show. Any observant Oriental residing even for a few weeks in London or Paris can see for himself that the civilisation of England or France is merely skin deep, that it is, indeed, merely a bright varnish or lacquer hiding much that is disreputable. Indeed, I should say that there is no more human wretchedness on the average east of Suez than west of it. Greater moral degradation there may be from the European point of view, but that is discounted by the salient difference between the Oriental and Occidental viewpoint concerning morality. The European recognises different grades of sin, but, strictly speaking, to the Asiatic all sins are equally the product of wrong-thinking, and where wrong-thinking exists, he argues there is inability to comprehend the difference between major and minor offences. Also environment has much to do with the matter. The horror induced by inhospitableness in Arabia, for example, is quite as great as that awakened by gross immorality in the English home counties. It is, after all, a question of the survival of tribal taboos. But, of course, the loftiest Eastern minds are far above all mere terrestrial sin, which they regard in all its forms as a material impediment to psychic advancement.

No, we do not see why we should adopt Western civilisation, we cannot see how it is going to help us. Has it helped Europe ? We doubt it. What, for example, has quick transit done for the West ? It has merely given more time to waste in other ways. One may say that it has added to human comfort. But we do not recognise comfort as one of the chief ends of man, as the West does. What has machinery done for Europe ? Has it not brought into being a generation of toilers who work merely that they may be kept in life, and whose leisure, if any, is spent in useless and stupid amusements, people who have no higher outlook whatsoever ? Europe begs us to consider sanitation. We have a system of our own, excogitated at a period when Western people were still in the totemic stage, and, personally, most of us observe it rigorously enough. It should be remembered, too, that we are hampered by tropical conditions which make for sudden pestilence. If it is said that our swarming millions make it impossible for us to exist in any tolerable manner, we point to the fact that European rule in Asia and Africa has done nothing as yet to regularise the production of these millions any more than it has checked the growth of the superfluous population in the countries of the West, and that this is a problem which has so far baffled the social philosophy of both Asiatic and European. Europe professes abhorrence at the decimation of infant life in China, yet many will agree that an unnatural system of birth control is essential in England. In our philosophy one is quite as heinous as the other.

Yes, social and philosophical evolution in the East has proceeded on lines so different to those in Europe that it might with justice be said that the distinctions are as great as though they had developed on different planets. We are not only living on the other side of this star from Europe, but we are divided by psychological gulfs so profound as can scarcely ever be surpassed. Our

destinies lie in totally different directions, and this we must accept. We can certainly learn from each other, can co-operate with each other, but from our point of view the greatest barrier to co-operation lies in the fact of Western insistence upon the superiority of Europe's general code. Only Europe's most enlightened minds are capable of recognising the eventual superiority of our system of psychic thought and effort. The West fails in the mass to see that an entire preoccupation with things terrestrial must make for ruin, and that to produce the flower of lofty spiritual effort in the few is worth the travail and wretchedness of millions who, according to our code, are themselves slowly rising out of the slough of the material into higher soul-conditions. Europe's own theory of evolution, applied to the material, might have taught the West so much, that development must likewise apply to spiritual life. But this Europeans strangely deny, and seem to imagine that individual psychic achievement is the ideal of humanity, whilst we believe that those who seek the Grail of the spirit actually illuminate and raise the whole race by reason of the status they attain.

If only the two systems might be co-ordinated! That would indeed be progress. But the West will not agree that the East has anything to teach the modern West, and Europe would require greatly to subordinate the indurated materialistic ideal of advancement which at present possesses her ere anything like co-operation could be even thought of. The Western people resemble schoolboys who adopt all the airs of manhood without realising its responsibilities, they chafe and sneer at the thought of the processes which might lead them to the higher levels of the soul. Actually they dwell in a spiritual fog. They tacitly give recognition to high ideals, but they know not the deeper reasons why they do so, and if asked to explain them, they falter and grow

incoherent. The West jeers at us as mystics. Mystics, indeed! Our "mysticism," so called, is at least a practical one with a definite end, whilst Europe's is something on which not only are Europeans divided, but few of them seem to understand.

No, we cannot follow Europe where Europe is going, because our path has not only been clearly defined for us ages ago, but we feel it instinctively to be the true one for us.

THE LAST EFFORTS

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST EFFORTS

THE drama now shifts from Kabul to Kandahar, where Amanullah arrived on January 17th, in that fateful year of 1929. Immediately on his arrival there, he summoned the Elders, and intimated to them that he had renounced the throne in favour of his elder brother, Inayatullah, whom they should now accept as the King of Afghanistan. The news was received with considerable anxiety, and during the sermon on the following Friday—as is the Afghan custom—the name of no King was mentioned to the faithful.

Meantime, as has been stated, Inayatullah had also abdicated, and sent a telegram to his brother in Kandahar, saying what he had done, and informing him that, via Peshawar, he was on his way to Kandahar.

When Inayatullah reached Kandahar, and the people saw with their own eyes the fate of two dethroned Afghan monarchs, their thoughts drifted to the ugly possibility of seeing Bacha Saquo's forces at the gates of Kandahar. Amanullah once again took the lead and re-proclaimed himself King, determined to oust the water-carrier's son from the capital. As a further inducement to the Kandaharis, he rescinded all his hated reforms, and began to make every effort to placate the clergy of Southern Afghanistan.

Large tribal gatherings took place now to discuss the next step in a programme whereby Amanullah could again reach Kabul. There were many factions at these

conferences, and all were not entirely with Amanullah, for they still doubted his good faith. What lay underneath was at last discovered, when an important delegate rose and denounced Amanullah to his face in the public gathering: and tauntingly remarked that he should seek support from those whom he had cherished, and who had turned out to be traitors, both to him and to the country. This outburst could not deceive anybody: and Amanullah, feeling that perhaps his cause would not be served well by the people of Kandahar, resolved to try his luck by proceeding northward, and attacking the brigand-King from Herat and Mazar Sharief side.

Disloyal to him, or, at least, lukewarm supporters of his though the Kandaharis may have been, yet this decision of Amanullah made the warriors in the Kandaharis feel slighted, and they asked him to tarry his steps northward for ten days, in order that they might have time to gather forces of their clansmen, after which an advance would be made towards Ghazni, on the high road to Kabul.

Much within that period, not only the tribesmen of the South rallied under Amanullah's banner, but also a large body of Hazara fighting men joined the King's forces. But large though this force was, the morale of the men was broken. They fought but half-heartedly, for they could not get the element of doubt from their minds that Amanullah would again install unpopular reforms; and that his pronouncement at Kandahar was merely a time-server. Nor were there any proper arrangements for a commissariat, with fresh supply of arms and ammunition.

The great misfortune with which Amanullah's men had to contend was that on both sides of his road to Ghazni, the tribes being against him, harassed the Royal troops: also as the advancing army must buy its rations on the way, the hostile villages would either

not sell the stuff, or more often than not murder lah's troopers. Amanullah, however, continue march from Bagh to Shahr Safa, to Jakdil and thence to Sir Asp.

Here his commander sent the disquieting news that the tribes around Aghu Jan, numbering some 800 men, were making the progress of the Royal troops impossible: but the way was forced, and Amanullah reached Muqr, where a halt was called, about the middle of April 1929. The Court influence of old made its appearance even at this critical juncture, when complaints were launched by the tribal elders that, in spite of their being the supporters of Amanullah, even in the face of the antagonism of their kinsmen, the Court hangers-on did not permit them to approach Amanullah direct. One, Mohamed Yaqub Khan, the Court Chamberlain, it was alleged, was the chief offender in this regard.

Meantime, Abdul Ahad Khan, leading Amanullah's advance guard, reached the gates of Ghazni; but the people showed hostility and in place of opening the gates, opened fire on Amanullah's men. Another two weeks of fruitless adventure on the part of the Royal troops ensued: and the Court of the distracted monarch decided to disband the tribal levies, and rely only on the regular troops. As soon as the tribesmen were disarmed, and were being sent back to their homes, dissatisfaction broke out afresh in the rear of the Royal troops. What could be said of Amanullah's capture of Ghazni in the North, now his retreat to the South at Kandahar was menaced? The collapse was final; and on reaching back at Muqr when Amanullah was informed that the tribes had gathered in large numbers, and were being assisted by a strong force of the water-carrier's son from Kabul, Amanullah broke down completely on May 14th; and gave orders for a general retreat to Kandahar.

He betook himself to Kandahar, ahead of his defeated

army: and on the way the hardships of the soldiers, what with the sniping of hostile clansmen, and what with the shortage of rations, can be better imagined than described. As he neared Robat Mahmand the unfortunate monarch issued his last abdication writ. He sent word that he was striking for Chaman, in the British territory, and that his wife and relations were to join him on the way. At 2 a.m., in the dead of the night, Amanullah's motor sped past the last frontier post of his kingdom. As he was leaving Afghanistan, " This is the end of my ten years' reign," he said, " that I now leave my country as a rejected monarch. . . . But why ? " he asked. Any man with the least imagination, and viewing the turmoil in which he was leaving Afghanistan, need not have asked this question. But Amanullah could not understand, could not see the viewpoint of his people: and indeed, woe betide a king who cannot see the viewpoint of his nation!

On May 24th, 1929, both the dethroned kings of Afghanistan—Amanullah and Inayatullah—were in the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay with their Queens, waiting till Queen Suraya was better before leaving the Indian shores for Rome and Tehran respectively: with which let the curtain ring down on the greatest tragedy that has ever been visited upon the God-Gifted Kingdom of Kabul.

Let us cast a glance backwards in relation to other personalities of this curious stage, and observe the conditions of the Eastern Province of Jalalabad. Ali Ahmed Jan, who had proclaimed himself the Ameer at Jalalabad, had to flee to Peshawar on February 9th. The tribesmen, it is said, were not enamoured by his licentiousness in matters of personal behaviour; and as soon as he left the Eastern section, the Shinwaris capturing Jalalabad, sacked it. His arrival at Kandahar created some sur-

prise on March 30th, 1929, more especially as Amanullah was now leading his men against the people of Ghazni. This third deposed ruler remained at Kandahar till the flight of Amanullah from Kandahar, and thus finding the empty throne, took the opportunity of again having himself proclaimed Ameer, only to fall captive in the hands of the brigand-King's men on the surrender of Kandahar on May 31st, and to forfeit his life in the middle of July at Kabul. Having outlined the adventures of this remarkable personage to his sad end, we must now turn to the Court of Bacha Saquo, the brigand-King of Kabul.

The Brigand-King in the Saddle

The very first act of the water-carrier's son upon mounting the throne of Kabul on January 17th, 1929, was to assume a royal title of Habibullah Ghazi—meaning: The Beloved of Allah, the Knight of the Faith. His name was mentioned at the Friday sermons at the capital more on account of the dread of his soldiers' bayonets than by any degree of affection which the priests had for him. Coins were struck in his name; he ordered all the departments of the State to be opened except that of Education and of Foreign Affairs. His mountain warriors had an orgy of feasting and rejoicing at the capital for days on end. Uncouth brigands of the glen lolled about in their muddy boots upon the sumptuous sofas of Amanullah's palace. The clownish Court of the illiterate and low-born bandit presented a ludicrous spectacle. Expensive rugs of the household were thrown over the pack animals at night, not always on account of vindictiveness, but due to the ignorance of their use and value by the ruffians of the highlands. They washed their muddy boots in the hand-basins, and used to hang their cartridge belts on the exquisite candelabra.

Every soldier was a walking arsenal; with cartridges in the belts worn cross-wise, others stuck even on their sleeves. They bore all sorts of savage weapons.

The next move was to have all the near relatives of Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan—sixty-one men, women and infants—imprisoned in the citadel: and indeed, what a prison! It was worse than any mediæval prison of the worst type. Delicate and ill-looking princes, who had been waited upon all their lives by many servants, were ruthlessly flung into the dungeon: their babies cried for milk, and received a growl from the savage guard. But these prisoners bore the hardships in such a manner that every Afghan should be proud of them.

The chief favourites of Amanullah's Court, who had led Amanullah astray, and who had deserted him on his abdication, now became the brigand-King's chief advisers. The Vakil openly helped the new Government, and the Turkish military instructor, Mahmood Sami, went so far as to train recruits at Kabul to send them to fight against the forces of Amanullah—his former master. One day when he visited the mint with the brigand-King, he spat upon Amanullah's coins, and kissed the new coins struck in the name of his new master. It was only natural that both he and his colleague should be tried by the national judges on H.M. Mohammed Nadir Shah becoming King, when the former was condemned to death, and the latter imprisoned for eight years on being found guilty of high treason.

The savagery of the brigand's Court can be imagined, when he used to relate such extraordinary, ungainly episodes as the following recorded by a foreign correspondent then at Kabul. One night he regaled his ignorant courtiers with the stories of his past life, especially how he " won " his first wife. Let it be given in his own words:

" When armed watchmen arrived for duty at the

Khyber village turrets, the peasant folks breathed with relief, because at least for another night they would be immune from the attack of the rival clansmen. And thus they have always slept from the beginning of frontier history: but that night it was not so. Excited men and women clustered at the Chief's courtyard, while the Elders confabbed around the fire in the public square: and all the while anger sat on the brow of the Chief.

" 'Thy honour is our honour!' yelled an Elder. 'This Habibullah must perish by the sword.'

" And yet another thought that as the culprit, who lay bound in the turret cell, by jumping over the wall had got in the courtyard where the Chief's daughter plucked fruits, women's sacred sanctuary had been violated, consequently Habibullah must be stoned to death at daybreak.

" 'Nay, he must be boiled to death in water,' shrieked another grey-bearded Elder, 'for breaking the law of women's seclusion.' And yet the Mullah decreed that the spirit must be made to suffer. Body was earthly, of no consequence.

" At this the Chieftain rose, and all knew that he was of a different mind.

" 'Be this as you decide, but mine is the power to order the manner in which mortification is to be dealt with.'

" Then he ascended the turret.

" As Habibullah heard the heavy footsteps of the father of his beloved approach, he guessed the decree.

" 'Rise to thy knees!' thundered the Khyber Chief. 'Rise thou defamer of thy father's memory! Thy father would have died out of love of my father, and thou playest traitor to the honour of thy master's house.'

" Then he untied Habibullah's wrists and legs and bade him stand. The prisoner's limbs were stiff and

swollen and he stood with difficulty, but his eyes had lost none of their fearlessness, even when death swam before his vision.

" But although Habibullah had learnt to bow to the inevitable, and agreed to die for breaking the convention on which the Khyber men place the highest price, he yet insisted that he would die for love.

" ' Thy father's affection was returned by my father, but thine ? ' roared the Chief. ' Dost mine daughter return thy love ? '

" It was precisely to ascertain that that he jumped into the orchard, thought Habibullah; to seek a sign, an answer to his heart's craving, just as he was caught.

" ' The honour of thy father's name privileges thee to deal the death-blow upon thyself by thine own hand. Here is a revolver! "

" Habibullah lifted the weapon, to turn it upon himself, with the words—' for love.'

" ' Tarry: the decree is but half spoken,' said the Chief slowly. ' The flesh as well as the spirit must be made to suffer. Thou must die at dawn, as the first silver-pink ray crosses yonder minaret and the fourth guardsmen lift their watch.'

" The turret window opened into the courtyard. A dim light burnt in a room at the furthest end, an occasional challenge of the guards rang out in the distant Pass, and died away. Here Habibullah, with revolver in hand, sat eating the gloom of the night; for not till the first ray of the sun struck the rugged cliff up above would his oath relieve him.

" ' What if the girl loves me not ? I die like an infidel,' he thought.

" The third watch was being lifted—one more ere the longed-for light appeared and his spirit ceased to suffer, an hour more meant daybreak.

" He lifted his firearm, he would end this agony.



ARG, THE CITADEL AT KABUL, THE CAPITAL OF AFGHANISTAN

"A shot leaped out of the watchman's rifle and challenged fleeting figures away in the distant gullies.

"His hand automatically dropped to his side, for the report of the gun brought back to him the word of honour that a clansman gives. He must wait.

"And then the fourth watchmen took their place.

"'What if the girl loves me not?' whispered Habibullah to himself.

"The light from the furthest room had gone. He lifted his weapon and dropped it again. He had pledged his word.

"At last he saw the watchman rise from their butts. They were wearily shaking the dust off their voluminous trousers; the shorter of the two looked the most tired. Dawn was breaking and the hour was struck.

"Habibullah struggled to his feet. Any moment the first ray would kiss the hill-top.

"He at least had kept the oath of his clan; but 'What if the girl loves me not?' he muttered again, and lifted his revolver.

"Someone touched him lightly on the shoulder. He gazed round. He felt imagination play with him; he looked again and rubbed his eyes. It was the watchman—the girl—what loveliness!

"'My love, my love, how brave art thou to face death thuswise!' she sobbed.

"Habibullah hid his eyes for a moment in his bended arm and re-raised the weapon to his temple to blot out the fair vision for ever. But she wrenched it from his hand. It was reality.

"Then the other watchman, no other than the Chieftain himself, approached him.

"'A true son of his father keeps his word and his love like thee. Give me the weapon and take thy wife: for thy spirit must have received more mortification by now than the Mullah decreed.'"

The brigand's rule was hardly a month old when appalling atrocities were started at the capital by his highlander ruffians. Money was extorted from all and sundry, houses were searched ostensibly to recover arms, but really to discover buried gold and silver. The new king knew that if he were to remain on the throne, then he must continue to pay his robber followers five times as much as before. No one would pay land tax, or toll, for everywhere the fire of revolution still blazed high. At last he devised a comprehensive scheme of wholesale extortion, selecting men of his type and distributing them throughout the country around Kabul. In each district they were to prepare a careful report of the wealth of citizens, who were compelled at the peril of their life's blood to produce every penny that they possessed. Every well-to-do Afghan was bled white, so far as any cash was concerned. The paper money was printed, but no one would accept it. Maddened by the demand for money the brigand resorted to more diabolical methods of torturing people to yield them every sou that they had or could borrow. The distress was unimaginable, people's noses and ears were cut if they did not produce money. The news of Kabul's reign of terror soon spread in the neighbourhood, and the brigand began to feel his seat on the throne very insecure; and now the tribes in the east and the south took a decided attitude to rid Afghanistan of the curse of the brigand-born who sat on the throne at Kabul.

In this clouded horizon there was only one ray of hope, that being the arrival of General Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Shah, with his brothers, to rescue his people from the ravages of civil war and the demon force which presided at the capital of the Afghans.

THE REMOVAL OF THE AFGHAN CURSE

CHAPTER XIV

THE REMOVAL OF THE AFGHAN CURSE

WHEN I think of modern Kabul, I think of a day on the French Riviera. In the veranda of a villa there sits a man of fifty or more. From his ashen face and the number of medicine bottles on the table at his elbow his physical exhaustion is clear.

His devoted friends and younger brothers are attending to his wants more assiduously than before; for on that particular day of which I speak the doctor had pronounced the condition of the patient to be grave.

That man is Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan—the present King of the Afghans, whose ruling house was replaced by that of Amanullah, many years before my time.

Presently the sick man's brother handed him the day's paper. It read that Amanullah had left his country to the ravages of a bandit, Bacha Saquo. From one end of the country to the other, the God-Gifted Kingdom of Kabul was in the throes of a fierce revolution.

All the princesses of the kingdom, having been thrown into the dungeons, were being tortured. The Royal children were being refused even milk, caravans were being looted, people were being shot for not giving up their last penny to the bandit-King.

Nadir trembled with emotion. Doctor's orders, he thought, were not more important than the cry of his nation in distress. His place was in his country. Even that day he will start; he actually staggered to the boat which took him to the Indian shores.

Imagine if you can, from an onlooker's point of view, the helpless position of Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan, who, standing alone, penniless, with no backing from anybody; watching the blaze of revolution rise higher and higher beyond the Khyber Pass; and yet never losing hope in his ultimate triumph to save his people. It was on March 6th, 1929.

From Khost, General Mohammed Nadir Khan entered Afghanistan. Amanullāh at the time was leading an attack upon the people of Ghazni. Ali Ahmed Jan having been defeated at Jalalabad had joined Inayatullah at Kandahar, and the brigand's troops had extended their master's authority on Afghan Turkestan. With the veteran General Mohammed Nadir Khan were his three brothers, Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan, and Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan.

A three-fanged attack was planned Kabulwards with the help of the tribes. The first named was sent to Jalalabad sector, the second and the third were to attack Khost and Girdez. It was, however, not till May 9th when the brigand's troops met the nationalist army. But the result at Baraki in Logar Valley was decided in favour of the Kabulis. On June 13th, Sirdar Mohammed Nadir Khan's forces routed the brigand's army at Spinkilla, near Gardez.

On June 16th the Head Priest, Hazrat Sahib of Shor Bazar, called a large tribal gathering at Shislnak and all voted in favour of the national hero General Mohammed Nadir Khan. Strengthened by several thousand fresh arrivals from the uplands of Afghanistan, the brigand's forces once again made a determined attack on General Mohammed Nadir Khan's position on June 25th, and recaptured Gardez.

For the next three weeks, General Mohammed Nadir Khan was busy planning a new scheme of advance, and then on July 14th, under his brother's command, Sirdar

Shah Mahmud Khan captured the town of Khoshi, on the high road to Kabul. Within three days, after a terrific battle and facing overwhelming odds, the victorious Sirdar had to lose his position at Khohi. A third offensive was not undertaken till a month after, when on August 16th, 1929, Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan was to lead his men Kabulwards from the Eastern section, assisted by the Hazaras. But no decisive result ensued.

Another month passed in preparation, when Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Kabul, and was repulsed by the brigand's troops at Gandamak. Three days after this Kandahar fell to the arms of the robber-King; and made General Mohammed Nadir Khan's position very precarious. Towards the last week of September, Hamidullah, the brother of the brigand-King, attacked and captured Jalalabad. But the cardinal mistake of disarming the tribes, which was probably the beginning of the end of his brother's reign, had considerably shaken the allegiance of the tribesmen towards the brigand-King of Kabul.

General Mohammed Nadir Khan took immediate advantage of the situation, and sent reinforcements to his brother, Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, at Doubandi for the fifth offensive through Logar Valley, whilst Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan attacked the brigand's troops at Mirzakai. It was during this period that the Royal persons at the Arg Citadel were in the greatest peril of their lives; and one of the nieces of General Mohammed Nadir Khan sent that historic note to her uncle, which shall ever stand as a shining star in the Afghan history as a worthy beacon of the national love and sacrifice. In the note the Princess exhorted upon her uncle to bombard the Citadel—although she with others was in the line of fire—but those royal prisoners did not want to stand in the way of evicting the bandit régime even at the peril of their lives.

Shah Wali Khan's lashkars began their advance on Kabul from Waghjan Tangi and Zarghun Shahr on October 5th. After the capture of Waghjan Tangi on October 2nd, the lashkar repulsed an attack by a small force of Bacha Saquo from Karezi Darwish on October 4th, 1929. A detachment remained at Waghjan. The advance began along both banks of Logar River and encountered the first serious opposition at Zahidabad, fifteen miles south of Kabul, where much fighting occurred on October 5th.

There was fighting also at Dasht Shara on the same day. On the morning of the 6th, the lashkar encountered the main body of Saquo at Char Assia, with heavy fighting all day. By evening Shah Wali Khan was in possession of Darul Aman and Bala Hisar on the 7th; Bacha Saquo men were still at Asmani Shair Durwaza and Siah Sung, while Shah Wali Khan waited for reinforcements. Habibullah's forces held out in the outskirts of the capital till October 10th, when their resistance was broken. The brigand-King took refuge in the citadel of Arg, and held out till the 13th, when he escaped to the Afghan Highlands on the night, by making a breach in the wall.

Even after the fall of Kabul to the victorious Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, the General Mohammed Nadir Khan stayed back at Ali Khail for a few days to make sure that there would be no counter-revolution. Then at last, headed by 12,000 warriors of all tribes, the greatest hero of our time in Afghan history entered Kabul.

After the morning prayer, when the sun was just peeping out over the distant crests of the hills, the capital city of the Afghans was in a festive mood. Thousands waited the whole night to receive the man who had redeemed their country.

On reaching Kabul, the very first step which General Mohammed Nadir Khan took was to address the

people: " I, assisted by my brothers," he said, " entered Afghanistan for no other reason than to rid our fair land of the scourge of the bandit. Now that that curse is lifted, I invite you all, men and women of my beloved country, to elect your own leader, your own King; for my task is finished." All and everyone shouted long live our King, Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi!

Excuse himself as he may from the heavy burden of kingship on account of his failing health, yet when people appealed to him in the name of the nation, he accepted the onerous responsibility, for it had been pointed out to him that the country was torn by factions and civil war for nearly a year. He alone brought about, not only the end of the awful nightmare of the bandit-King, but also it was through his efforts that national cohesion was effected, and through his being a King alone could that unity continue. If he did not accept the throne, it was added then there was fear of plunging the country into civil war once again. It was the united will of the nation before which the Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi bowed and accepted a further period of service to his country; for, unlike Amanullah, he considers himself not the ruler, but the servant of the people.

Confidence soon returned to the country after his acceptance of the rulership. A Cabinet,[1] and a National Assembly were formed, trade routes were opened, within three weeks all the tribes sent their allegiance to him and all was quiet again. The brigand-King was hiding in the mountain passes, whose turn it was to account for

[1] Cabinet appointed in early part of November 1929, consisting of the following: His Royal Highness Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan, Prime Minister; His Royal Highness Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan, Minister of War; Sirdar Faiz Mohammed Khan, Foreign Minister; Mohammed Gul Khan, Minister of Interior; Fazul Umar Khan, Minister of Justice; Mohammed Ayub Khan, Minister of Finance; Ali Mohammed Khan, Minister of Education; Mirza Mohammed Khan, Minister of Commerce; Abdul Ahad Khan, President of Grand National Assembly; Mohammed Akbar Khan, Director of Health.

There are fifty Members of the National Parliament; which is called Mujilis Shura Milli; and is elected for three years.

his misdeeds. An expedition was sent after him, and Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan, quickly surrounding him, brought the chief offender to Kabul, where he was sentenced to death. His devil-may-care attitude can be surmised by the report of a foreign correspondent regarding his confession.

"Yes," he said, "I know that you are taking me to Kabul, to prison, or to be shot." And he offered his hands to be tied behind his back. "Imprisonment, or even death, never held any dread for me." He jeered at the officers as he leaped in his saddle. "For knowest thou that I wore a charmed life, even now that charm of the Mullah is tied on my right arm; but I think that since the giver of the charm was dead these two months ago, the influence of its protection has disappeared too: for how else wouldst thou explain it, O Abdullah," he asked his companion as their ponies zig-zagged between the high cliffs of Kohistan, "that the Mullah said that I was to wear the charm, wear it next to my skin, and by the beard of the holy Peer, so the Priest had sworn that I shall be King. And added the Mullah, mark you, O Syed, that the virtue of the charm remains while the charm-giver's life lasts and two full moons thereafter.

"And of mine own story of life, if you would listen, even since I was a little boy, I loved the life of desperadoes. My father sprinkled water upon the dusty roads of the village. He sent me to a Mosque school, and though lessons I did not like, I went there regularly at my father's bidding. One day a man rebuked my father, and in revenge, I organised a small party of village urchins and at night tore down the vineyard of my father's enemy. It was the beginning of my leadership. Then I ran away from home towards the Khyber Pass to look at Golden Hindustan; and did much trade as a tea-seller and a rifle-thief, turn about according to seasons.

It was in the villages of the Khyber that the Mullah

gave me the charm telling me of my kingly fate, and thus armed with confidence I sought a soldier's job in the Afghan army. My marksmanship soon earned me the highest reward. It was there that I had my first sense of disgust for Amanullah's kin as I saw his relations not differentiating the ways of the infidels from those of the faithful.

"On my return to Jalalabad I was discharged, and as I returned empty-handed to my hill-folks, they jeered at me for not bringing them any presents from the far-off lands of the Ferunghis. The shame of the clans was upon my face, but I looked at my charm. Some day I shall be a king, I said. Having no lands to cultivate or prospects of employment, and being the first marksman in the entire Afghan army, a local brigand found in me a very useful recruit. For months, nay, for years, we pounced upon the caravans from Turkestan. We relieved the rich of their wealth, and helped the poor; and incidentally found the most deserving amongst our own men. Ultimately I assumed the leadership of the brigand gang, and carried on the work so successfully that we used to extract taxes from the caravans and actually grant receipts with our compliments to Amanullah. The King's men dare not touch us, for we did not fear death, and the Kabulis can never fight like the highlanders of my band. And so I continued, watching, waiting, and trusting to the charm upon my right arm and the rifle in my hand.

"And, lo, my opportunity began to show signs of realisation when frequently soldiers of Amanullah's army became my confederates. They spoke of much corruption at the capital; much wine-bibbing and much else of infidel ways; and I watched for my time. It was coming. Gradually we heard the grumble of the peasants because three years' taxes were wanted in advance for Amanullah's expenses to the countries of the Ferunghis.

"Amanullah and his wife went to Europe, and returned. They all saw what he had seen, as he brought magic films with him: and we said, it was bad, and did also the Mullahs and the peasants.

"When the revolt of the Shinwaris began, my star rose high: and before sundown two thousand of my well-armed men were following me to help the revolutionaries. We surrounded the house of the Governor of the Highlands. I alone stepped into the room of the Governor. He was sipping his green tea. May peace not be upon thee, I spoke, covering him fully with revolvers in my both hands; and tied him up to the leg of the iron safe in his room. Then I took up the receiver of the telephone. Give me Alla Huzrat at Kabul. Yes, the King's own number at the Palace. A voice spoke from Kabul, O, had not I heard that roar a thousand times in the Palace grounds. I said that it was the Governor the Province who was speaking, to report that I had captured the gang of Bacha Saquo, and what was to be done with the bandit chief. 'Shoot him, like a dog that he is,' came the reply over the wire. Ha, ha, I chuckled in my beard, it is just as well to know how much I am loved at the Court.

"Within three days, I was shelling the capital; Amanullah had fled, his troopers were joining us every day in large numbers; Inayatullah, and many subjects of the Ferunghis, left Kabul in their fire-machines; and I was King. My entry into Kabul realised my wildest dreams. That day amidst the glory of it I would have gladly perished.

"My first task, however, was to pay my followers. I discovered that although Khazanah Ammirah"—the Government Treasury—"was practically empty, a considerable treasure was buried in the grounds of Arg. In it I found some of the gold and jewels as old as the time of Ameer Abdur Rahman; some of which was already

removed by Amanullah. I used much of it to pay my soldiers; and a part of it I ordered to be removed to our mountains in Kohistan. Gold and silver sacks were packed on camels, and every night I began to have from twelve to fifteen camel-loads sent to the valley of Punjshair, and even beyond, to be buried for emergencies. They are still ' at the sign of the four camels,' tucked away amongst the glens, but it would take more than cutting my limbs to make me say as to where that sign of the four camels is. Perhaps it would lie there for ever. One man besides me knew where the place is; and that man is safely dead.

" When I found that the clans could not be persuaded to accept me as King, I married a relative of Queen Suraya; thinking that my thus establishing a Royal connection the position would be secure. It was without avail, however. And having no hope of realising any money from the peasants for three years I printed paper money, and even then circulated leather coins and hoped for the best. But worst of all the Mullah who had given the charm had died too; and my star began to set; because the clans would not have me as King. General Nadir was always threatening my position; and the Inglis neither would acknowledge me nor lend me money; with the small amount of the Russian gold I could not carry on: and then I said to my Wazirs that it was the end of it all when General Nadir's army was nearing Kabul—the best man has won.

" I have been a king and the adventure of my life is finished and now whether I live or die matters nothing to me, for I have reached the heights of kings, which is only next to the height of Allah's throne; more than this man cannot attain. I was waiting for death since many long years, indeed, since I first fired my shot and it sent a thrill through my heart as its sound echoed and re-echoed in the glen and I kissed the boulder

behind which I hid, and kissed it thrice with triumph and glee."

And in the fullness of autumn, the national hero, General Mohammed Nadir Shah, was crowned King, styled as His Majesty Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi. All foreign legations were back in Kabul, and happiness once again reigned supreme in the God-Gifted Kingdom of Afghanistan: so that after the prayer of the dawn, when the sun is emerging over the hill-tops, you would be thrilled to see the capital city of Afghanistan now bathed in the phosporescent light of the rising sun these winter days. Encircled by gigantic mountain walls, in the hollow, lies Kabul; and it is a veritable fairyland at this time of the year. The atmosphere is chilly, but sunshine never deserts the city. Morning, noon, or evening are alike in their abundance of brilliant but not scorching rays of the Eastern sun.

The farmers have sown their corn, wheat and barley; the herdsmen are taking their camels, goats, and hill-ponies to the lower passes, for the winter is set in on the higher spurs of the Hindu-Killer Range, and all must rest within the walls of their " forts," when tons of snow would lie deep on the sown fields for nearly four winter months. But the life of a city does not tarry, especially at the capital of the Afghans.

There is buying and selling as usual in the bazaars. Home-made pieces of felt are being weighed and bartered for dried fruit or lambskins; the Uzbek merchants, all the way from the Golden Samarkand, drive a thundering trade in green tea and sugar lumps imported from Russia. Away in the covered bazaar the coppersmiths are creating a tremendous din by beating the metal sheets into the shapes of samavar or hot-water receptacles; the saddler, too, goes on steadily with his awl and shining brass taps fashioning saddles for the men of the clans across the borderland. Men and



A WING OF ARG THE KABUL CITADEL SHOWING THE RESULT OF THE BOMBARDMENT DURING THE AFGHAN REVOLUTION

women of humbler trade bring wood for winter use on their pack-ponies, camels, or even perilously strapped upon donkeys; or a more skilful Tajik from Afghan-Turkestan weighs out pailfuls of charcoal in barter for whatever you are willing to part with. The tea-shops and the baker-restaurant keeper have a great deal to do also. Droves of hungry men are going into the shop, others emerge from it apparently satisfied; and so the life goes on from day to day, whilst the word is awaited that the first white streak of snow has appeared on the mountains of the Tiger Valley.

But, if you were to know the real soul of Afghanistan, you must know more about its present king and his remarkable achievement.

His Majesty Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi is a man of few words. His politeness is proverbial; and his love for Arabic scholarship is the envy of scholars. He has always tried to engender a feeling of good fellowship amongst his people. This facet of his character is extremely important, because he advocated it in the face of the total lack of that spirit during King Amanullah's régime. The greatest pride of the favourites of the ex-King was to run down the foreigners, especially the British subjects; but of all these prejudices King Nadir is singularly free.

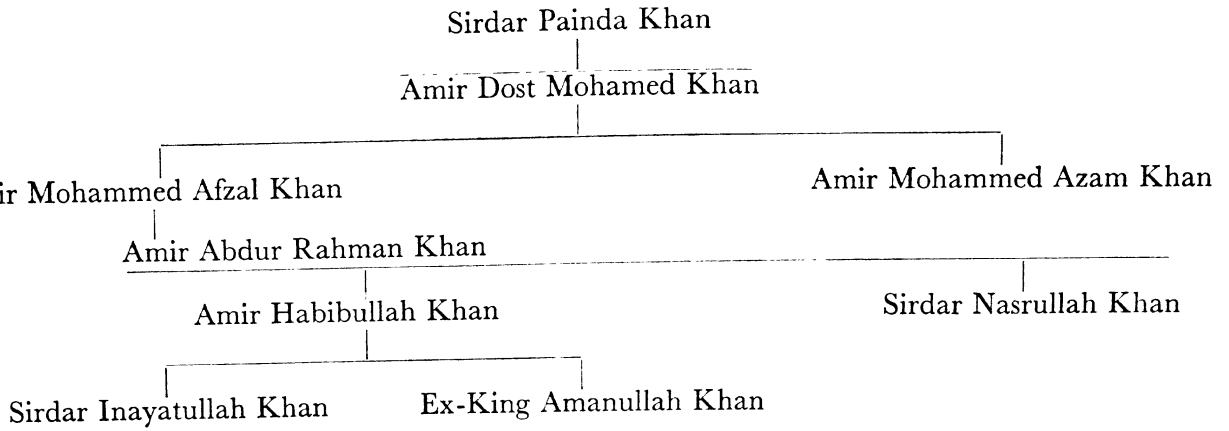
He encourages education on the right lines—that is, he wishes his people to remain essentially Afghan, but to learn from foreign sources only such things as will benefit the country; and, above all, he is careful to strain the draught of foreign ideas through the muslin-mesh of true Afghan traditions. He is not the man to tolerate either the frivolity of Amanullah's days, or the thraldom of the accursed water-carrier's son. In the main, his policy is one of peace and order and I look forward in confidence to a happy future for the internal and external affairs of the country.

The wisdom with which he has chosen his new Cabinet, above everything else, serves to justify the forecast of the future peace of Afghanistan. The Prime Minister is his own brother, who is as skilled in correct diplomacy as he is in war. He is essentially a man of action, for he is always known to be watchful of opportunities whereby the immense natural resources of Afghanistan might be developed. His brother, the War Minister, is reputed to be one of the most efficient soldiers of the generation; but probably one of the most taking personalities in to-day's Afghan administration is Sirdar Shah Wali Khan, the present Minister at Paris, in whom you will find courtesy blended with that affection which is a sure hall-mark of a great and noble mind. To his name may be coupled that of Sirdar Ahmed Ali Khan, the Afghan Minister in London, who conquers the heart of whomsoever comes in contact with him.

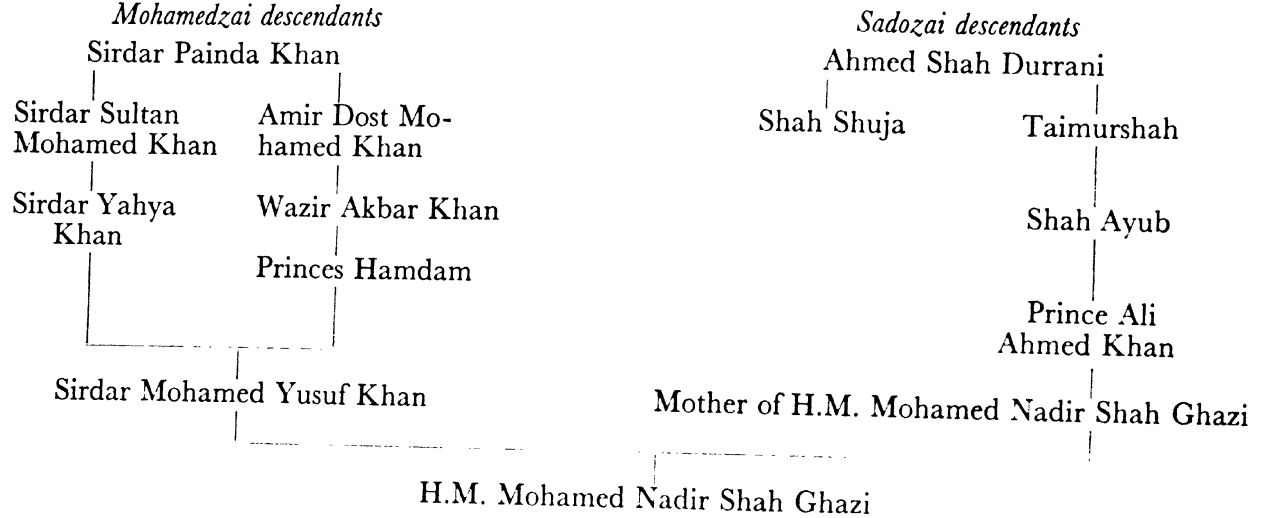
From all reasonable expectations I make no mere hazardous conjecture that His Majesty Mohammed Nadir Shah Ghazi has come to stay, because he is the only man who can weld together the best of Eastern culture with the age-long tradition of a race in whose bosom national progress is a fashion.

Yes, thus is the mind of the present Afghan King, as contrasted with ex-King Amanullah; who, like a true Afghan, with sword in hand, ought to have died fighting on the steps of his throne.

Family Connections and Forefathers of Ex-King Amanullah



THE FAMILY OF HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMED NADIR SHAH GHAZI IS COMPOSED OF THREE DESCENDANTS OF MOHAMEDZAI AND SADOZAI KINGS; AND IS AS FOLLOWS:



The Queen of Afghanistan is also related to the above three Houses of Kings.

H.M. Mohamed Nadir Shah has four brothers, one son and four daughters.

The four brothers are: H.R.H. Sirdar Mohamed Aziz Khan; H.R.H. Sirdar Mohamed Hashim Khan; H.R.H. Sirdar Shah Wali Khan and H.R.H. Sirdar Shah Mahmud Khan. The name of the Heir is Prince Mohamed Zahir.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY

Signed at Kabul, November 22nd, 1921

(Ratifications exchanged at Kabul, February 6th, 1922)

Preamble. The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan, with a view to the establishment of neighbourly relations between them, have agreed to the Articles written hereunder whereto the undersigned duly authorised to that effect have set their seals:

Article 1. The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan mutually certify and respect each with regard to the other all rights of internal and external independence.

Article 2. The two High Contracting Parties mutually accept the Indo-Afghan Frontier as accepted by the Afghan Government under Article 5 of the treaty concluded at Rawalpindi on August 8th, 1919, corresponding to Ziqada 11th, 1337 Hijra, and also the boundary west of the Khyber laid down by the British Commission in the months of August and September, 1919, pursuant to the said Article, and shown on the map[1] attached to this treaty by a black chain line; subject only to the realignment set forth in Schedule I annexed, which has been agreed upon in order to include within the boundaries of Afghanistan the place known as Tor Kham, and the whole bed of the Kabul

[1] Not reproduced.

River between Shilman Khwala Banda and Palosai and which is shown on the said map by a red chain line. The British Government agrees that the Afghan authorities shall be permitted to draw water in reasonable quantities through a pipe which shall be provided by the British Government from Landi Khana for the use of Afghan subjects at Tor Kham, and the Government of Afghanistan agrees that British officers and tribesmen living on the British side of the boundary shall be permitted without let or hindrance to use the aforesaid portion of the Kabul River for purposes of navigation and that all existing rights of irrigation from the aforesaid portion of the river shall be continued to British subjects.

Article 3. The British Government agrees that a Minister from His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan shall be received at the Royal Court of London like the Envoys of all other Powers, and to permit the establishment of an Afghan Legation in London, and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees to receive in Kabul a Minister from His Britannic Majesty the Emperor of India and to permit the establishment of a British Legation at Kabul.

Each party shall have the right of appointing a Military Attaché to its Legation.

Article 4. The Government of Afghanistan agrees to the establishment of British Consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad, and the British Government agrees to the establishment of an Afghan Consul-General at the headquarters of the Government of India and three Afghan Consulates at Calcutta, Karachi, and Bombay. In the event of the Afghan Government desiring at any time to appoint Consular officers in any British territories other than India a separate agreement shall be drawn up to provide for such appointments if they are approved by the British Government.

Article 5. The two High Contracting Parties mutually guarantee the personal safety and honourable treatment each of the representatives of the other, whether Minister, Consul-General, or Consuls within their own boundaries, and they agree that the said representatives shall be subject in the discharge of their duties to the provisions set forth in the second schedule annexed to this treaty. The British Government further agrees that the Minister, Consul-General, and Consuls of Afghanistan shall, within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, notwithstanding the provisions of the said schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister, Consul-General, or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister, Consul-General, and Consuls of Afghanistan are fixed; and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees that the Minister and Consuls of Great Britain shall within the territorial limits which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, notwithstanding the provisions of the said schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister and Consuls of Great Britain are fixed.

Article 6. As it is for the benefit of the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan that the Government of Afghanistan shall be strong and prosperous, the British Government agrees that whatever quantity of material is required for the strength and welfare of Afghanistan, such as all kinds of factory machinery, engines and materials and instruments for telegraphs, telephones, etc., which Afghanistan may be

able to buy from Britain or the British dominions or from other countries of the world, shall ordinarily be imported without let or hindrance by Afghanistan into its own territories from the ports of the British Isles and British India. Similarly the Government of Afghanistan agrees that every kind of goods, the export of which is not against the internal law of the Government of Afghanistan and which may in the judgment of the Government of Afghanistan be in excess of the internal needs and requirements of Afghanistan and is required by the British Government, can be purchased and exported to India with the permission of the Government of Afghanistan. With regard to arms and munitions, the British Government agrees that as long as it is assured that the intentions of the Government of Afghanistan are friendly and that there is no immediate danger to India from such importation in Afghanistan, permission shall be given without let or hindrance for such importation. If, however, the Arms Traffic Convention is hereafter ratified by the Great Powers of the world and comes into force, the right of importation of arms and munitions by the Afghan Government shall be subject to the proviso that the Afghan Government shall first have signed the Arms Traffic Convention, and that such importation shall only be made in accordance with the provisions of that Convention. Should the Arms Traffic Convention not be ratified or lapse, the Government of Afghanistan, subject to the foregoing assurance, can from time to time import into its own territory the arms and munitions mentioned above through the ports of the British Isles and British India.

Article 7. No Customs duties shall be levied at British-Indian ports on goods imported under the provisions of Article 6 on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan, for immediate transport to Afghanistan, provided that a

certificate signed by such Afghan authority or representative as may from time to time be determined by the two Governments shall be presented at the time of importation to the Chief Customs Officer at the port of import setting forth that the goods in question are the property of the Government of Afghanistan, and showing the description, number and value of the goods in respect of which exemption is claimed; provided, secondly, that the goods are required for the public services of Afghanistan and not for the purposes of any State monopoly or State trade; and provided, thirdly, that the goods are, unless of a clearly distinguishable nature, transported through India in sealed packages, which shall not be opened or subdivided before their export from India.

And also the British Government agrees to the grant in respect of all trade goods imported into India at British ports for re-export to Afghanistan and exported to Afghanistan by routes to be agreed upon between the two Governments of a rebate at the time and place of export of the full amount of Customs duty levied upon such goods, provided that such goods shall be transported through India in sealed packages which shall not be opened or subdivided before their export from India.

And also the British Government declares that it has no present intention of levying Customs duty on goods or livestock of Afghan origin or manufacture, imported by land or by river into India or exported from Afghanistan to other countries of the world through India and the import of which into India is not prohibited by law. In the event, however, of the British Government deciding in the future to levy Customs duties on goods and livestock imported into India by land or by river from neighbouring States, it will, if necessary, levy such duties on imports from Afghanistan; but in that event

it agrees that it will not levy higher duties on imports from Afghanistan than those levied on imports from such neighbouring States. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the levy on imports from Afghanistan of the present Khyber tolls and of octroi in any town of India in which octroi is or may be hereafter levied, provided that there shall be no enhancement over the present rate of the Khyber tolls.

Article 8. The British Government agrees to the establishment of trade agents by the Afghan Government at Peshawar, Quetta and Parachinar, provided that the personnel and the property of the said agencies shall be subject to the operations of all British laws and orders and to the jurisdiction of British Courts; and that they shall not be recognised by the British authorities as having any official or special privileged position.

Article 9. The trade goods coming to (imported to) Afghanistan under the provisions of Article 7 from Europe, etc., can be opened at the railway termini at Jumrud, in the Kurram and at Chaman for packing and arranging to suit the capacity of baggage animals without this being the cause of reimposition of Customs duties; and the carrying out of this will be arranged by the trade representatives mentioned in Article 12.

Article 10. The two High Contracting Parties agree to afford facilities of every description for the exchange of postal matter between their two countries, provided that neither shall be authorised to establish Post Offices within the territory of the other. In order to give effect to this Article, a separate Postal Convention shall be concluded, for the preparation of which such number of special officers as the Afghan Government may appoint shall meet the officers of the British Government and consult with them.

Article 11. The two High Contracting Parties having mutually satisfied themselves each regarding the good-will of the other, and especially regarding their benevolent intentions towards the tribes residing close to their respective boundaries, hereby undertake each to inform the other in future of any military operations of major importance which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier tribes residing within their respective spheres, before the commencement of such operations.

Article 12. The two High Contracting Parties agree that representatives of the Government of Afghanistan and of the British Government shall be appointed to discuss the conclusion of a Trade Convention, and the convention shall in the first place be regarding the measures (necessary) for carrying out the purposes mentioned in article 9 of this treaty. Secondly. (They) shall arrange regarding commercial matters not now mentioned in this treaty which may appear desirable for the benefit of the two Governments. The trade relations between the two Governments shall continue until the Trade Convention mentioned above comes into force.

Article 13. The two High Contracting Parties agree that the first and second schedules attached to this treaty shall have the same binding force as the Articles contained in this treaty.

Article 14. The provisions of this treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature, and shall remain in force for three years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said three years the intention to terminate it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on

which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. This treaty shall come into force after the signatures of the Missions of the two parties and the two ratified copies of this shall be exchanged in Kabul within two and a half months after the signatures.

(Signed)	(Signed)
MAHMUD TARZI, Chief of the Delegation of the Afghan Government for the conclusion of the Treaty.	HENRY R. C. DOBBS, Envoy Extraordinary and Chief of the British Mission to Kabul.
Tuesday, Aqrab 30th 1300 Hijra Shamsi (corresponding to November 22nd, 1921).	This twenty-second day of November one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

SCHEDULE I
(Referred to in Article 2)

In the nulla bed running from Landi Khana to Painda Khak Post, the Afghan frontier has been advanced approximately 700 yards, and the Tor Kham Ridge, including Shamsa Kandao and Shamsa Kandao Sar, is comprised in Afghan territory. Further, the Afghan frontier has been advanced between the point where the present boundary joins the Kabul river and Palosai from the centre of the river to the right bank.

SCHEDULE II

Legations and Consulates

(*a*) The Legations, Consulate-General, and Consulates of the two High Contracting Parties shall at no

time be used as places of refuge for political or ordinary offenders or as places of assembly for the furtherance of seditious or criminal movements or as magazines of arms.

(*b*) The Minister of His Britannic Majesty at the Court of Kabul shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés, and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are British subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the Afghan Government, provided that he shall furnish from time to time to the Afghan Government a list of persons in respect of whom such exemption is claimed, and, under a like proviso, the Minister of the Ameer to the Royal Court of London to which all the Ambassadors of States are accredited shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés, and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are Afghan subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of Great Britain. If an offence or crime is committed by an Afghan subject against the British Minister or the persons above mentioned who are attached to the British Legation, the case shall be tried according to the local law of the Courts of Afghanistan within whose jurisdiction the offence is committed, and the same procedure shall be observed vice versa with regard to offences committed in England by British subjects against the Afghan Minister or other persons above mentioned attached to the Afghan Legation.

(*c*) (i) A Consul-General, Consuls, and members of their staffs and households, who are subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall remain subject in all respects to the jurisdiction, laws, and regulations of such State.

(ii) A Consul-General, Consuls, and members of their staffs and households, other than subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of such State, in respect of any

criminal offence committed against the Government or subjects of such State, provided that no Consul-General, Consul, or member of their staff or household shall suffer any punishment other than fine; provided also that both Governments retain always the right to demand recall from their dominions of any Consul-General, Consul, or member of their staff or household.

(iii) A Consul-General, Consuls, and members of their staffs and households, other than subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of the said State in respect of any civil cause of action arising in the territory of the said State, provided that they shall enjoy the customary facilities for the performance of their duties.

(iv) The Consul-General of Afghanistan and Consuls shall have a right to defend the interests of themselves or any members of their staffs and households who are subjects of their own Governments in any Court through pleaders or by the presence of one of the consulate officials, with due regard to local procedure and laws.

(*d*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties and the members of their staffs and households shall not take any steps or commit any acts injurious to the interests of the Government of the country to which they are accredited.

(*e*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two Governments in either country shall be permitted to purchase or hire on behalf of their Governments residences for themselves and their staff and servants, or sites sufficient and suitable for the erection of such residence and grounds of a convenient size attached, and the respective Government shall give all possible assistance towards such purchase or hire, provided that the Government of the country to which the Ministers or Consuls are accredited shall, in the event of an Embassy or Consulate being permanently withdrawn,

have the right to acquire such residence or lands at a price to be mutually agreed on; and provided that the site purchased or hired shall not exceed twenty jaribs in area.

NOTE. Each jarib 60 × 60 yards, English = 3,600 sq. yards.

(*f*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two Governments shall not acquire any immovable property in the country to which they are accredited without the permission of the Government of the said country.

(*g*) Neither of the two High Contracting Parties shall found a mosque, church, or temple for the use of the public inside any of its Legations or Consulates, nor shall the Ministers, Consul-General, or Consuls of either Government or their Secretaries or members of their staffs and households engage in any political agitation or movement within the country to which they are accredited or in which they are residing.

(*h*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall not grant naturalisation or passports or certificates of nationality or other documents of identity to the subjects of the country in which they are employed in such capacity.

(*i*) The Ministers of the two High Contracting Parties, besides their own wives and children, may have with them not more than thirty-five persons, and a Consul-General and Consuls, besides their own wives and children, not more than twenty persons. If it becomes necessary to employ in addition subjects of the Government of the country to which they are accredited, Ministers can employ not more than ten persons and Consul-General and Consuls not more than five persons.

(*j*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and

with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph, and by wireless telegraphy in cipher or *en clair*, and to receive and dispatch sealed bags by courier or post, subject to a limitation in the case of Ministers of 6 lb. per week, and in the case of a Consul-General and Consuls of 4 lb. per week, which shall be exempt from postal charges and examination, and the safe transmission of which shall, in the case of bags sent by post, be guaranteed by the Postal Departments of the two Governments.

(*k*) Each of the two Governments shall exempt from the payment of Customs or other duties all articles imported within its boundaries in reasonable quantities for the personal use of the Minister of the other Government or of his family, provided that a certificate is furnished by the Minister at the time of importation that the articles are intended for such personal use.

AFGHAN-GERMAN TREATY

A TREATY of friendship between the Afghan and the German Governments was negotiated and signed at Berlin on March 23rd by Aqai Ghulam Siddiq Khan, the Afghan Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, and Dr. G. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, as the delegates of the powers. The text of the treaty is as follows:

Clause 1. From this day onwards unopposed peace and everlasting sincere friendship has been established between the High Governments of Afghanistan and Germany.

Clause 2. The High Contracting Governments will maintain legations at each other's Courts, the Ministers and all the recognised members of these legations will enjoy the political privileges allowed by the general international rules, which are explained below:

Political Privileges

Each legation will possess the privilege of hoisting its Government's flag on its building, on the residence of its Minister and on his carriage when he is travelling officially. It can also place a sign-board bearing its Government's arms on the building of the legation. Each legation will possess the privilege of the safety of its registered staff and their families. The buildings of the legations of the contracting parties will possess the privilege of being considered as situated outside the jurisdictions of the Governments, but they will under no circumstances afford asylum to the transgressors of local laws. Each legation will possess the privilege of the security of its political dispatches and official articles and the safety of its political couriers during the discharge of their political duties. Each legation will possess the privilege of communication with its Government or her agents in other countries by means of the telegraph, the telephone, and the wireless in open language or in cipher.

The following are recognised as the official members of each legation:

The Minister Plenipotentiary, the Counsellor, the Military Attaché, the Head Clerk, the Economic Attaché, the Second Clerk, the Third Clerk, the Record Keeper, the Translator, and the Doctor.

Clause 3. The contracting parties entirely agree that when the time comes they will make special treaties, especially an economic treaty.

Clause 4. This treaty has been written in two languages, viz. Persian and German. Both versions are equally reliable. This treaty should be ratified and a ratified copy should be presented at Kabul as soon as possible. This treaty was presented at Paghman (Kabul) on September 14th, 1926, by Aqai Mirza Mohammed Khan,

Secretary of the Afghan Foreign Ministry and Dr. Feigal, the German Minister Plenipotentiary in Afghanistan, and was ratified by the King of Afghanistan.

AFGHAN TREATY WITH U.S.S.R.

A TREATY was signed at Paghman on August 31st, 1926, by Aqai Mahmud Khan Tarzi, the Afghan Foreign Minister, and M. Stark, the Soviet Diplomatic Minister in Afghanistan. The coming into existence of this treaty or the cancellation thereof will not interfere in any way with the Russo-Afghan Treaty concluded in Moscow on February 28th, 1921. The text of the new treaty is as follows:

Text of the Treaty

Clause 1. In the event of war or hostile action between one of the contracting parties and a third power or powers, the other contracting party will observe neutrality in respect of the first contracting party.

Clause 2. Both the contracting parties agree to abstain from mutual aggression, the one against the other. Within their own dominions also they will do nothing which may cause political or military harm to the other party. The contracting parties particularly agree not to make alliances or political and military agreements with any one or more other powers against each other. Each will also abstain from joining any boycott or financial or economic blockade organised against the other party. Besides this, in case the attitude of a third power or powers is hostile towards one of the contracting parties, the other contracting party will not help such hostile policy, and, further, will prohibit the execution of such policy and hostile actions and measures within its dominions.

Mutual Non-Aggression

Clause 3. The high contracting parties acknowledge one another's Government as rightful and independent. They agree to abstain from all sorts of armed or unarmed interference in one another's internal affairs. They will decidedly neither join nor help any one or more other powers which interfere in or against one of the contracting Governments. None of the contracting parties will permit in its dominions the formation or existence of societies and the activities of individuals whose object is to gather armed force with a view to injuring the other's independence, or otherwise such activities will be checked. Similarly, neither of the contracting parties will allow armed forces, arms, ammunition, or other war material, meant to be used against the other contracting party, to pass through its dominions.

Clause 4. The contracting parties agree to enter into negotiations within a period of four months for the compilation of the rules for the reconciliation of the differences which arise between them, and which cannot be solved in the usual diplomatic way.

Clause 5. Each of the contracting parties is at liberty to enter into any sort of relationship or agreement with other Governments, where such action does not interfere with the provisions of this treaty.

Valid for Three Years

Clause 6. This treaty will take effect from the date of its ratification, which should take place within three months of its signature. It will be valid for three years. After this period it will remain in force for another year, provided neither of the parties has given notice six months before the date of its expiry that it should cease after that time.

Clause 7. This treaty has been drawn up in two languages, Persian and Russian. Both the versions are equally reliable.

The Protocol. The following signatories—M. Stark, the Soviet Minister Plenipotentiary in Afghanistan, and Aqai Mahmud Baig Khan Tarzi, the Afghan Foreign Minister—certified that their Governments, which had been loyal to the Russo-Afghan Treaty of 1921, had not made any agreement with any Government in the past which is opposed to the present treaty of neutrality and non-aggression, and that they would not do so in the future for the period of this treaty. This protocol was signed at Paghman on August 31st, 1926.

The above treaty proves that Afghanistan is desirous of having co-operation with all the nations and powers, both far and near. She desires general peace and welfare, and wishes to abstain from all sorts of aggression, except in defence of her rights. Afghanistan is prepared to meet everyone who wishes to make a treaty of honour or neutrality or a treaty which might be conducive to general peace and social welfare. The advantages of the above treaty are equally shared by the contracting parties, and facilities are provided for social co-operation.

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